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ABSTRACT

Written by students for students, the purpose of the book, one of four components of the Model UN Survival kit, is to help prepare secondary and college student delegates for participation in Model United Nations (UN) Conferences. Model UN programs help students discover the difficulties of world political processes and understand other nations and cultural perspectives. Section 1 discusses how to prepare for a Model UN Conference. Section 2 presents regional perspectives on how different nations interact and provides basic political information on selected world regions and countries. Information on world regions is presented in specific chapters that focus on: (1) Africa; (2) Asia and the Pacific; (3) Eastern Europe and the USSR; (4) Latin America; (5) The Middle East; (6) North America; and (7) Western Europe. Section 3 provides the voting records and selected resolutions of the 42nd UN General Assembly (December 1987). Section 4 consists of an annotated bibliography of UN-related issues, while section 5 offers lists of UN Depository Libraries in North America and permanent missions to the UN with their New York (New York) addresses. Maps, charts, and bibliographies on world regions and countries are included. (JHP)

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A GUIDE TO DELEGATE PREPARATION

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United Nations Association
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A GUIDE TO DELEGATE PREPARATION

UNA-USA Model UN Survival Kit
1988–89 Edition

James P. Muldoon, Jr. and John Diehl, Editors

UNA-USA
485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Preface

The 1988–89 *Guide to Delegate Preparation* has been written by students for students, and is intended as a starting point for preparation of delegates to participate in Model UN conferences. We urge you to read the contents of this edition thoroughly and to make use of the many references and resources given here, so that you may further explore the background on the country you will be representing, the issues you will be discussing, and the United Nations organs you will be simulating.

This book is one component of the Model UN Survival Kit, which also includes *Issues Before the 43rd UN General Assembly, Basic Facts About the UN,* and *the United Nations Charter.*

We would like to thank all the people who were instrumental in making this edition of the *Guide* possible. Without the hard work of those listed in the contributors section, we would not have completed this volume. In addition, we thank the Permanent Missions to the UN for their review and critique of parts of this edition. Also, special thanks is extended to Carol Christian for her enthusiasm and support for our efforts to get the *Guide* in final form.

As editors of this important preparation tool in Model UNs, we are very interested in your comments and evaluation of the Guide and welcome your input for future editions. In order to provide Model UN delegates with the most useful materials as possible, we would appreciate your comments on the contents and order of the Guide. Please forward your thoughts to us at the United Nations Association of the USA; 485 Fifth Avenue; New York, NY 10017.

James P. Muldoon, Jr.
John Diehl
August 1988

Updated Annually

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INTRODUCTION: THE MODEL UN EXPERIENCE—AN OVERVIEW

"You just had to be there" is the response most often given by Model UN students to inquiries about their experiences at a Model UN conference. It is hardly the most explanatory or descriptive statement of the oft-times overwhelming but always exciting activity of simulating the United Nations system. Yet, this type of response reflects the unique characteristic of this educational endeavor. A student is not likely to discover the richness of the world of international relations or the frustrations of multilateral diplomacy simply as a by-stander or spectator. In a limited way, she/he is offered an opportunity to experience first-hand just how complex and very difficult world political processes are through a Model United Nations.

It is estimated that 60,000 junior high school, high school, and college students participate in Model UN conferences annually. For many students, the Model UN experience lasts for many years, participating year after year in Model UN conferences and role-playing several different Member States of the UN. With 159 possible roles to play, the Model UN student is never without a challenge, no matter how many years the student is active or the number of conferences the student participates in. Additionally, each of the approximately 100 major Model UN conferences and countless smaller UN simulations conducted every year tackle a wide range of international issues, so no two Model UN conferences are alike and all offer different opportunities to participants.

The Model UN experience has a different value for each student. For some, the encounter will heighten their appreciation of the complexities of international politics, while for others, it will broaden their understanding of other nations and cultural perspectives. At the same time, each student will know the thrill of accomplishment and the common frustration of politics.

A Model UN experience is educational, but its value depends in large part on what the student puts into the activity. A Model UN demands more than ever imagined of a student's interpersonal and intellectual skills, drawing out personal strengths and individual courage seldom seen in the traditional classroom. The old saying: "you get out of it, what you put into it," is

all too true in regards to Model UNing. The more time and effort given to Model UN preparation the more valuable the simulation experience becomes.

Unfortunately, no one can force the students to put more time into their preparation. Indeed, faculty advisors and Model UN groups will encounter students who will try to do the minimum and not take the Model UN process seriously. Yet, this problem is often isolated to only a few students in a delegation. Demanding the most out of each student, using high standards as a guide, will serve as a useful method of extracting quality performances out of the delegation. The Model UN experience demands nothing less than excellence, if it is to produce a significant educational benefit. In many instances, Model UNing generates higher levels of motivation for other subjects and educational activities in students who may appear less than interested in their education. Ultimately, the Model UN process is self-motivating, bringing "self-actualization" objectives in education to the fore.

This edition of the Guide to Delegate Preparation has been revised from earlier editions to enhance the preparation of and the role-playing function for Model UN students. The Model UN experience is intrinsically linked to a number of factors—foremost being sound preparation. This Guide is only a starting point. The student would be remiss to depend solely on the information found in this book as the basis for role-playing the Member State they have been assigned for a Model UN conference. Also, the Model UN Survival Kit is not the only authority on the issues before the United Nations. It is strongly suggested that students seek other materials from authoritative sources on the specific topics of the Model UN conference(s) in which they are participating. Included in this edition are helpful leads to useful sources that should be consulted for further research.

We have divided this edition of the Guide into five major sections. The first section gives some details about methods for preparing for a Model UN conference. Because of the diversity of the many different conferences offered annually, we present a generic approach to preparation. Some Model UN conferences may require specific preparation techniques so it is smart to request information directly from the conference the students plan on attending. (For details and addresses for MUN conferences, see UNA's annual Calendar of Model UN Conferences.) We have put together in the Guide some suggestions and explanations of the more commonly used methods in preparation. We also offer suggestions, based on successful preparation techniques, about ways to organize and about approaches to develop the skills demanded of the Model UN student. Subsequently, in this section, we present some of the commonly encountered realities of participating in a Model UN conference. Once again, this is a selective explanation and description of what to expect at a Model UN conference.

The second section, "How Nations Interact," is designed to inform students of the various ways nation-states work (or don't work) with each other in the international arena. It is organized on a regional basis, consisting of brief outlines of the political agendas for UN Member States in the context

of their geographical environs. After digesting the information about the region for the assigned country and then the other regions covered in this section, the student should have a better sense of how his/her nation interacts with other members of the United Nations and the direction of foreign policy for the region. Also, the student should realize that there are several international forums that these nations use in forwarding their foreign policy objectives, and that these other regional organizations have some connection with the United Nations system. This section is also designed to assist the student in placing his/her nation in a regional and global context that will prepare them for the difficult job of role-playing a representative of a Member State in the United Nations.

Complementary to the above, the third section of the Guide concentrates on sample resolutions and voting patterns of the General Assembly. Not only is this section designed to be used during the Model UN conference itself, but it, too, will instruct the student on the voting behavior of UN Member States on selected issues during the most recent GA session. Each resolution reproduced, in abridged form, has an analysis that explains part of the rationale and debate around the resolution and the vote taken on the resolution. It should be noted, however, that many of the resolutions in the General Assembly are adopted without a vote (meaning consensus) and that votes are taken only when there is sensitivity on the issue by one or more members. One word of caution, this section is to be read as historical information and **not as the way** a nation should vote in a Model UN conference. It is especially important to understand that a simple word change or phrase may have made the resolution reproduced in this section acceptable to those who either abstained or voted in the negative. Therefore, the voting pattern is not set in stone on these issues and careful scrutiny of the wording and phraseology of a Model UN resolution should be the method employed for deciding how to vote on resolution(s).

The fourth section—"United Nations Issues: An Annotated Bibliography"—is an extensive bibliography to assist the Model UN student in finding more detailed information on the general issues before the United Nations. Once again, this list of periodicals, articles and books is not complete or comprehensive. The sources in this section are simply good places to start for more in-depth research that *must* be undertaken to be properly prepared for a Model UN conference. In addition, the multitude of topics of the Model UN conferences throughout the United States and abroad precludes greater specificity in the bibliography. Most conferences provide the topics for their simulation(s), in advance, and some background on them to assist the student in better defining the subject.

Finally, the fifth section is devoted to information about where basic materials can be located and acquired. Depository libraries, addresses and telephone numbers of the Member States' Missions to the United Nations, reference materials about the United Nations system and Member States, etc. are given for easy use by the student. It is strongly suggested that the student

first concentrate on acquiring information about the United Nations system and the history of UN involvement in the topics to be debated in the Model UN conference. Subsequently, the material on Member States and issues will have more relevance and contextual boundaries which can make the research easier.

The Guide is a primary resource that should lead the student to further research. We encourage the student to exploit fully the information in the Guide and its companion publication Issues Before the General Assembly, as well as the rest of the material in the Model UN Survival Kit. With proper preparation and seriousness of purpose, the Model UN experience will be one that students will remember fondly and correctly. And, perhaps, the Model UN student will now be able to say more than "you just had to be there."

I—"PREPARING FOR A MODEL UN CONFERENCE"

The key to success for a Model UN student is preparation. The Model UN conference depends on the student delegate being thoroughly and properly prepared for their role as a **diplomat** of their assigned country for the simulation. The Model UN conference is simply the shell, the environment in which the delegate must operate, therefore, the delegate is the element which brings the conference to life. This is not an easy task, neither for the conference nor the delegates. To insure success, conference organizers work diligently to produce the necessary materials in a timely fashion for the delegates to use in their preparation for the simulation(s). Yet, as in this book, the materials and information made available to the student are not the only sources for information needed in order to perform at their best during the conference. Delegates must look beyond this basic material and systematically extract more detailed data about the United Nations, the country to be represented, and the issues to be discussed. What follows are some helpful ideas and suggestions to better prepare for participation in any Model UN conference.

Organization

Most Model UN conferences simulate several United Nations organs and specialized agencies. Therefore, students form a delegation to represent an assigned country to most, if not all, the organs and agencies being simulated. The very first step is to get the delegation **organized.** There are several different ways to organize a delegation from very bureaucratic to loose collegial structures. The more complex the Model UN structure, the more complex organization will be needed in the delegation.

The main objective of this organization is to ensure communication and consistency amongst the members of the delegation. The delegation, as a unit, is responsible for presenting and "protecting" the national interest of the country being represented. Therefore, deviation from an agreed position on issues or from the foreign policy direction defined by the delegation **prior**

to the simulation(s) will have an adverse affect on the efforts of other members of the delegation and, ultimately, on the success of initiatives and negotiations of the delegation with other delegations in the conference.

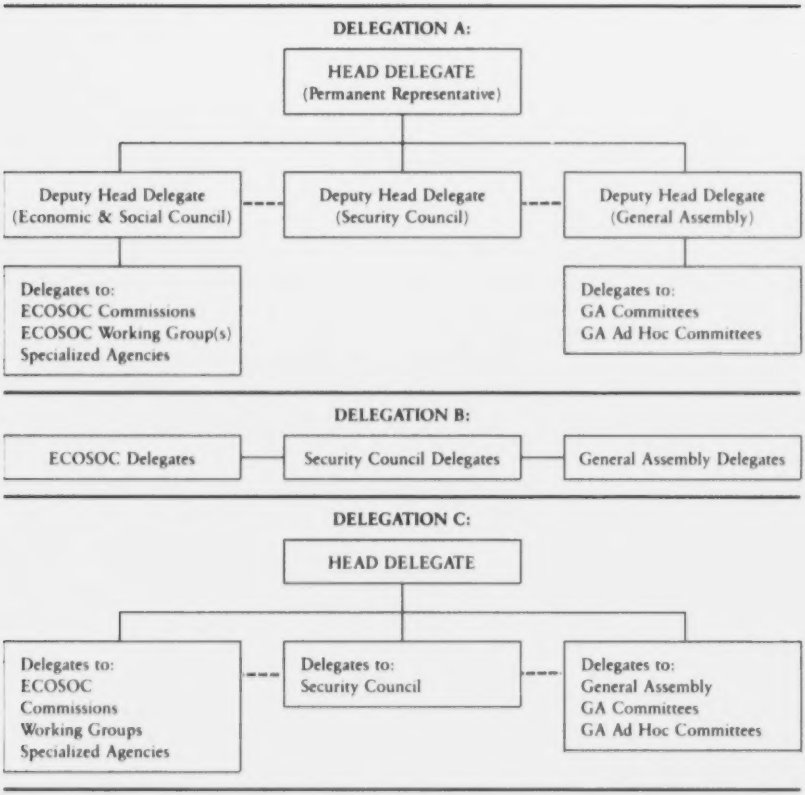
A secondary goal of organizational structure, and no less important than the first, is to have a functional division of labor in the delegation. The structure must be conducive to the preparation needs of the delegation and should provide sufficient discipline and efficiency in the delegation to guarantee acquisition of the necessary data and information to be successful in the conference. Each organ and/or Specialized Agency being simulated will have a number of topics on its agenda(s), and information will be needed for each. Thus, the division of labor is often determined by the conference structure.

It is strongly suggested that one member of the delegation (preferably someone with previous Model UN experience) be designated as the Head Delegate (in the United Nations, the title is Permanent Representative, with rank of Ambassador) to oversee and monitor the delegation's progress in gathering the needed information and data. In addition, the Head Delegate may have some special responsibilities such as administrative duties (e.g. maintaining relations with the school administration and faculty advisors, disseminating any information from the conference organizers about the simulation, handling financial arrangements with the conference and hotels, etc.). Yet, if the delegation is properly organized many of these responsibilities can be shared with other members of the delegation. Below are some organizational charts for delegations commonly used by Model UN students.

Delegation A represents a bureaucratic organization with well defined lines of authority and channels for communication. Also, it commands discipline of the members of the delegation before and during the simulation(s). Each member of the delegation is defined by a title (e.g. Head Delegate, Deputy HD, or Delegate) which, in turn, defines the roles each will have during the conference and the work each must complete in preparation for the conference.

Delegation B reflects a collegial structure for a delegation. Although the lines of communication and authority are not formally defined, the thrust of this organization is total participation of all delegates in gathering the data and information, sharing the information and data, and in representing the country's interest in the simulation equally. This form of organization demands the greatest amount of individual discipline and frequent meetings of the delegation before and during the conference. In most instances, this is the structure many delegations have used with more or less success. A note of caution: this organizational structure requires a great deal of commitment and seriousness of purpose by **all members** of the delegation to really succeed.

Delegation C represents a middle-ground between Delegations A and B. Primarily a functional structure with minimal hierarchy, Delegation C incorporates a leadership role for one or more members of the delegation and a



collegial structure for the rest of the delegation (the leadership is usually defined similar to club officers of other student organizations). In this case, there are some methods of discipline and authority vested in the organization, which can affect some discipline in the delegation during the conference and can avoid the problems that are created from the presence of any unforeseen slackers in the group. As in the case of Delegation B, this organizational structure requires frequent meetings of the delegation before and during the conference.

Of course, there are many possible variations of all three of these organizational structures and one factor that will most definitely alter how the delegation is organized is how the conference is structured. First and foremost in each delegate's mind should be that he is *not* an independent actor in the delegation or the conference. The behavior and actions taken by one delegate either help or hinder the work of others in the delegation.

The organization of the delegation must serve the goals and objectives of the delegation as a whole. In choosing the structure most appropriate, the Model UN students should evaluate the backgrounds, strengths, weaknesses,

and experiences of the members of the delegation on the United Nations system, international politics, diplomacy, and the issues for the MUN conference. The more that has to be accomplished, the more efficient and organized the group will have to be. Keeping in mind, though, the danger of creating an organizational structure that is too cumbersome or laden with bureaucratic red-tape which can work against the ultimate objectives of the delegation. The group will be served well if all members of the delegation are given responsibility, and their role vis-a-vis other members of the delegation is clearly defined in advance.

RESEARCHING FOR A MODEL UN

Once your delegation is organized its members are in a position to begin the long and often tedious process of acquiring information, data, and documentation about the United Nations, the country to be represented, and the issues to be discussed at the Model UN conference. The student will experience fewer problems if a systematic approach is developed before getting started. There is much information to be had, if one knows how to find it. Therefore, one must become familiar with the procedures that are usually associated with requesting information and documentation from governments and other organizations.

Before searching outside of the delegation, the students would be well advised to evaluate what each of the members already knows about the UN, the country and the issues. Personal knowledge may demonstrate that the cumulative information of the delegation will limit the amount of research and documentation needed. However, it is unlikely that any group of students will have all the necessary information and knowledge to be properly prepared for a Model UN conference.

First, a definition of the kind of knowledge most required can elucidate the extent of work the delegates have before them. There are three categories: (1) "knowledge of facts and principles" or cognitive knowledge about the UN, the foreign policy objectives of the assigned country and the resources at the country's disposal to achieve the policy; (2) "knowledge of the outcome of various strategies" allows the students to weigh the costs and benefits of employing certain game-plans and approaches during the conference; and, (3) "knowledge of the structure of the underlying model of the game" which indicates the relationship of the actors in the simulation and offers some insights into the probabilities of achieving desired outcomes. (Hazleton and Mahurin, Simulation and Games, June 1986, p. 158.)

Through the process of preparation, the students must come to know as many facts as possible about the country they are to represent. In the process, they should come to understand the cultural, social, and historical determinants of national behavior and foreign policy decision-making. In

other words, research is supposed to be geared toward empathy or the ability to think as the people the students are going to represent think. Research should point out to the student that role-playing the diplomat of another nation requires assuming a different world-view, thus, they have to strip themselves of the cultural biases of their own up-bringing.

Being systematic, it is possible to achieve all the desired objectives of preparation for a Model UN conference. The work of research should be divided based on the organizational structure of the delegation. It is strongly suggested that the United Nations system should be researched first, ferreting out the interrelationships between the different organs and programs. With this as a basis, move to the assigned country. Last, but not least, tackle the issues to be discussed at the Model UN conference which can be investigated more easily with the foundation of information on the UN and the country. All this necessitates an early start, discipline, and a focus on the most important details.

During research, the student will confront new concepts, a new language. Terms like collective security, peacekeeping, pacific settlement of disputes, arbitration, mediation, adjudication, national sovereignty, and territorial integrity are common jargon for specialists in international relations. These terms are usually defined and explained in general textbooks about the United Nations and international relations. The goal for the delegate is to learn how to use these terms effectively so as to explain their country's positions or feelings on issues.

This book and the other information in the Model UN Survival Kit are designed to be a starting point for the students' research efforts. In this Kit, the primary resource for exploring the United Nations system is Basic Facts About the United Nations and the Charter of the UN. It is important to become familiar with the organs, committees, and/or specialized agencies being simulated at the conference. Often the Model UN conference secretariat will provide background information on all this. Yet, it is wise to do additional research which will more fully explain the history of the organ, committee, and/or specialized agency and the relationship it has with the other aspects of the UN system. Often times it is difficult to find information on the lesser known organs and agencies of the UN. In this instance, the student is advised to look under the issues dealt with by the organ in books and indices, rather than the name of the organ itself. It may take a bit longer to sift out the information needed, but with persistence the information can be found.

Researching the assigned country poses different challenges for the student. Research should concentrate on the nation's history, culture, economy, geography, and relations with other nations. This information will give the student all the ingredients that go into the formulation of the nation's foreign policy. Basic information about any nation is most easily found in common reference materials available in almost every public library: yearbooks, encyclopedias, and almanacs. Many newspapers cover many countries as events

transpire around the world. Check periodical indices under the name of the country and the region where the country is located. Other sources of information about countries are embassies, consulates, and their Missions to the UN. However, writing to these sources requires time for their replies and some additional investigation on who to address the letters to. Another good source for finding out a country's position on various issues is the *UN Chronicle*.

Another research task for the student is investigating the issues to be debated. There are two components in this regard. First, the student must understand the issue in general. Second, as a delegate, the student must try to discover their nation's position on the issue (if there is one). Being current on the issue represents the most difficult aspect of this part of the research effort. To be effective, the students should follow the issues as they are discussed in the daily news media. Newspapers like The New York Times, Christian Science Monitor, Los Angeles Times, Washington Post, and Dallas Times Herald are very useful. Yet, these sources are often lacking on many issues and the country the student may be representing. Therefore, other good sources to seek out are Third World Press Review, The Economist, The Far Eastern Economic Review, the Manchester Guardian, and a myriad of other non-American publications available on a weekly or monthly basis.

Included in this Kit is Issues Before the United Nations. This publication is a good starting point for understanding the status of many issues before the General Assembly in the most current year. In the final analysis, both knowledge and research must be harnessed to develop a cohesive understanding of the United Nations, the assigned country, and the issues. The students must take the information gathered through research and develop an approach or strategy for the delegation for the Model UN conference. It is not an easy task. However, with the research in hand, it will be easier for the delegation to formulate an overall plan of action which will reflect the positions on each issue, through a general *position paper* and/or *policy paper.* This position paper should be viewed as the delegation's road-map and should outline the priorities of the delegation for the simulation. This way the research and knowledge is actually working for each delegate and for the delegation, as a whole.

Model UN Skills

As the delegation begins to grasp all the interrelationships and complexities of the United Nations system and the nation they are to represent, it is time to develop the skills to effectively participate in the simulation(s). Each student must acquire a working knowledge of diplomatic communication, rules of procedure, debate, negotiation, and writing resolutions. The best method for acquiring such knowledge is through practice.

RESEARCH OUTLINE

1. The UN System and the Model UN Conference Structure to be attended
   - — What is missing in the conference compared to the real UN?
   - — How do the elements (organs/committees) in the simulation interact in the real UN?
   - — Define differences between the simulation and the real thing!
2. Our new country and the international community
   - — Basic facts about the country to be represented
   - — What are the foreign policy objectives of the country?
   - — With what organizations and nations does the country work? Why?
   - — What is the role the country plays in the UN system? Why?
   - — What is unique about your country compared to all other countries?
   - — Given a hypothetical issue, how would *you* (the student) expect your country to react to the problem?
   - — As the Representative of the country, how would you handle the issue or problem?
3. The Model UN issues and your country
   - — What is the history of the issue?
   - — What countries are involved and/or most affected? Why?
   - — What is your country's position on the issues? Why?
   - — How has your country handled the issues in the UN in the past? Under what conditions would your country change their positions? Why?
   - — How should you approach these issues at the Model UN? Why?

Communication

Communicating with other nations as the diplomat of a country necessitates sensitivity and creativity. The use of language is paramount in the diplomatic world and the wrong word or phrase can mean the difference between success and abject failure. In a Model UN, the delegate is a diplomat and the proper use of language in communicating the national priorities or position on issues will go a long way in minimizing difficulty during negotiations over key resolutions. Therefore, it is wise to practice the various forms of communication available to diplomats in the real world with the members of the MUN delegation.

The basic forms of communication are written and verbal. Any written form of communication is usually very formal and cautious in language because it becomes a document that can act as confirmation of a nation's commitment or purpose in an issue area and can be ultimately utilized by other nations in negotiations. On the other hand, verbal communication in informal caucuses or social occasions offers the diplomat the opportunity to discover some of the underlying basis for other nation's actions or positions. Being of a less formal nature, verbal communication clears the way for a more formal written exchange that will solidify an agreement or arrangement between nations later. Diplomatic communication is an art that must be developed through practice. No one is simply born with it.

It is easy to practice this kind of communication. For example, take one of the issues of the Model UN conference and assign each member of the delegation a different nation. (It is not important to know thoroughly the backgrounds of the countries being used.) Then, have each student prepare a document articulating the basic position of the country on the issue. Second, have the group verbally express their nation's position on the issue as opening statements in a plenary session. Third, after opening statements, the delegates will *not* be allowed to verbally speak to each other. They must negotiate strictly through notes and messages. Make sure that all messages are retained at the end of the practice session. Finally, have a group discussion/evaluation of the exercise and look at each member of the delegation's work in message writing and written diplomatic communication. There are many variations on this exercise that can be implemented by a Model UN delegation, and with time and effort the practice will pay off during the real simulation.

Rules of Procedure

Rules of procedure is a fact of life for a Model UN delegate and is very important. The rules are important to the flow of business in the committee, General Assembly Plenary, and Councils. They indicate when delegates may speak, how votes are to be taken, and many other elements which ensure that the will of the majority of delegates is followed and the rights of minorities are protected. Unfortunately, every Model UN conference has its own set of rules (and in most instances the rules are *not* Robert's Rules of Order). It is advised that a delegation request the rules for the conference to be attended before practicing parliamentary procedure. Once the rules of procedure are received, a copy should be made for each delegate and the group should discuss each rule individually emphasizing how it can be used and when. It is extremely important for each member of the delegation to thoroughly understand all the rules before trying to use them. The next step is to practice using those rules. The most successful method is to conduct mock sessions of committees (similar to the format described for practicing diplomatic com-

munication). These practice sessions would be best served if a delegate with previous experience using the rules of procedure chairs the sessions. Also, do not hesitate to stop the mock session to explain errors and discuss areas of confusion. Needless to say that practice makes perfect and will facilitate the delegations' goals and objectives during the simulation. Practice, practice, and more practice is vital!

Debating and Negotiating

Debate and negotiation are the two primary modes of communication in a Model UN conference. Once again, the art of debate and negotiation must be developed through practice. Negotiation is usually performed through formally organized caucus groups or bloc formations, which meet informally during the conference (usually outside of the committee room). In both cases, public speaking is the tool most desired. Careful preparation and research will give a delegate greater confidence. At many conferences, delegates are asked to make opening remarks about a topic during "General Debate." For this type of debate, speeches can be prepared in advance and practiced before the conference. In addition, a delegate should be prepared to make extemporaneous speeches (or remarks off the cuff) with barely enough time to outline the arguments to be made. Therefore, familiarity with the topic is essential.

While doing research, the delegates should keep in mind that each will want to remember facts and arguments that support their nation's opinion on a topic. Also, delegates should be prepared to argue for or against procedural motions (e.g. closing debate, tabling a resolution, suspending the meeting, etc.). The delegate should remember to keep these speeches to the point of procedure and *not* make substantive arguments in this format.

The best preparation for debating and negotiating is practice. Many Model UN groups arrange mini-sessions in which the members of the group actually hold a smaller version of a Model UN. At these sessions, a delegate can gain speaking experience as well as familiarity with the rules of procedure. Here the more experienced delegates can assist beginners. Often it is best to simulate a small body of the UN, such as the Security Council or a committee, during a mock session. Be sure to choose a familiar issue for the session.

Resolution Writing

Writing resolutions is one of the most important tasks of a delegation participating in a Model UN. Resolutions are the basic decisions or statements of the United Nations. Together with amendments, they are the basis of discussion for substantive debate as well as negotiations. While they are prepared

by individual nations or groups of nations, once passed they declare the official policy of the UN organ submitted to.

While most resolutions state policy, some may include an entire treaty, declaration, or convention. Resolutions may either be general statements or directions for specific organizations, UN bodies, or states. They may condemn actions of a state, call for collective actions, or, as in the case of the Security Council, require economic or military sanctions. When writing resolutions, it is important to keep in mind the specific capabilities of the organ being simulated.

Each resolution is a single sentence, with the different sections separated by semi-colons and commas. The subject of the sentence is the organ making the statement such as the General Assembly, Economic and Social Council, and the Security Council, or the Security Council committees, since they are subdivisions of the organ, use the organ's name as the subject of their resolution. The remainder of the resolution is divided into two parts: preambulatory and operative clauses.

Preambulatory clauses are the justifications for actions. They usually begin with present participles and denote Charter authorizations for actions, past resolutions precedent, and statements about the particular purposes for the action.

Operative clauses are the policy portion of the resolution. Each of these starts with a verb, and taken as a whole, deals thoroughly with one idea arranged in a logical progression. Each clause should not be a collection of unrelated thoughts or statements on a broad topic, but should deal with only one aspect of the problem.

The Model UN Conference: What to Expect

After all the preparation and practice, the delegate now faces the task of implementing the skills and knowledge acquired. In addition, the delegate must now step into the role as the UN representative of their assigned country. At first glance, the delegate may perceive chaos and mass confusion. However, there is some method to all the madness, and once the simulation begins the delegate will find others with whom to share some thoughts and begin initial negotiations on topics or issues. Although each conference is unique with different rules of procedure and expectations, there are some commonalities amongst them worth reviewing.

Public Speaking and Debate

As was pointed out earlier, public speaking is the tool of the Model UN trade. Each delegate is expected to be able to stand up before the other delegates in the committee, Council, or plenary and deliver a speech or an

Resolution Introductory Phrases

Preambulatory Phrases

Affirming
Alarmed by
Approving
Aware of
Believing
Bearing in mind
Confident
Contemplating
Convinced
Declaring
Deeply concerned
Deeply conscious
Deeply convinced
Deeply disturbed
Deeply regretting
Desiring
Emphasizing
Expecting
Expressing its appreciation
Expressing its satisfaction
Fulfilling
Fully aware
Fully alarmed
Fully believing
Further deploring
Further recalling
Guided by
Having adopted
Having considered
Having considered further
Having devoted attention
Having examined
Having studied
Having heard
Having received
Keeping in mind
Noting with regret
Noting with satisfaction
Noting with deep concern
Noting further
Noting with approval
Observing
Realizing
Reaffirming
Recalling
Recognizing
Referring
Seeking
Taking into account
Taking into consideration
Taking note
Viewing with appreciation
Welcoming

Operative Phrases

Accepts
Affirms
Approves
Authorizes
Calls
Calls upon
Condemns
Congratulates
Confirms
Considers
Declares accordingly
Deplores
Draws the attention
Designates
Emphasizes
Encourages
Endorses
Expresses its appreciation
Expresses its hope
Further invites
Further proclaims
Further reminds
Further recommends
Further resolves
Further requests
Have resolved
Notes
Proclaims
Reaffirms
Recommends
Reminds
Regrets
Requests
Solemnly affirms
Strongly condemns
Supports
Trusts
Takes note of
Transmits
Urges

Sample Resolution

Organ

The General Assembly,

Underline Initiating Phrases

Recalling its resolution 22/18 k of 24 January 1979 and 34/93 I of 12 December 1979, as well as Economic and Social Council resolution 1980/50 of 23 July 1980,

Preambulatory Clauses

Indent 5 Spaces

Reaffirming once again the special responsibility of the United Nations and the international community towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement,

Noting the great advance of the movement against *apartheid* and for national liberation and the rise in political consciousness of the oppressed people of South Africa,

Use Comma to Separate Preambulatory Clauses

Condemning the violence and repression by the *apartheid* regime against all opponents of *apartheid*,

Recognizing the need for increased humanitarian and educational assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa, as well as direct assistance to the liberation movements in their legitimate struggle,

Operative Clauses

1. Appeals to all States to provide humanitarian, educational, financial and other necessary assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement;

2. Urges the United Nations Development Programme and other agencies within the United Nations system to expand their assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and the South African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, in consultation with the Special Committee Against *Apartheid;*

Number Operative Clauses

Use Semi-colon to Separate Operative Clauses

3. Urges all agencies within the United Nations system to ensure the participation of the South African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity in their relevant conferences and meetings, and to provide financial assistance for that purpose;

4. Decides to continue the authorization of adequate financial provisions in that budget of the United Nations to enable the South African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity—the African National Congress of South African and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania—to maintain offices in New York in order to participate effectively in the deliberations of the Special Committee and other appropriate bodies.

End Resolution With A Period

extemporaneous comment on the issue or the motion before the group. Being prepared and coherent in making a speech will make what appears to be a frightening moment less so. Some tips for success include: using the delegation *position paper* and/or *policy paper* as the main source for direction and tone; preparing an outline or synopsis for each topic for quick reference during the simulation; bringing as much documented information as possible with you to the meetings; preparing fact sheets on other countries' positions on the topics. Below is a sample outline that will facilitate debating and speaking extemporaneously:

A. Background of agenda item in the United Nations
   1. Main elements of the problem
   2. General positions of importance on the issue (e.g. positions of major blocs, other nations, experts on the subject, etc.)
   3. Action taken on the issue (e.g. UN Resolutions adopted, Secretariat reports or studies, and referrals to other bodies such as the ICJ or specialized agencies).

B. Justification of the position and summary
   1. Main reasons that support your country's point of view or position
   2. Strongest reasons in favor of opposing positions and your points of rebuttal
   3. Presentation of your draft resolution or amendment(s)

Caucus Groups

One of the first things a delegate encounters in a Model UN is a frenzy of activity during which delegates introduce themselves and start the hard task of working out agreements on resolutions and amendments. These informal sessions are most commonly called "caucus groups" or "bloc meetings." One of the most important, yet least understood, aspects of the real United Nations General Assembly is that of caucus groups. Think in terms of voting blocs; that is, Member States who tend to vote together (as a bloc) on particular issues in the General Assembly. For some Model UNs, the grouping of Member States into formal "blocs" or "caucus groups" is designed to facilitate negotiations and decision-making in the simulation. For other Model UNs, caucus groups are informally defined, allowing the delegates to form alliances that shift from issue to issue.

Obviously the purpose of Member States forming Caucus Groups is to use the United Nations both as a forum for expressing official opinions and as an instrument for protecting their own national interests. As neither end could be readily accomplished with all nations pulling in the direction of individual national interests, it has become necessary to combine the common interests of individual nations in an effort to exert a greater amount of

political influence within the General Assembly. Caucus Groups were the end result of this need. Simply stated, then, Caucus Groups represent nothing more than the aggregation of interests of Member States on various issues.

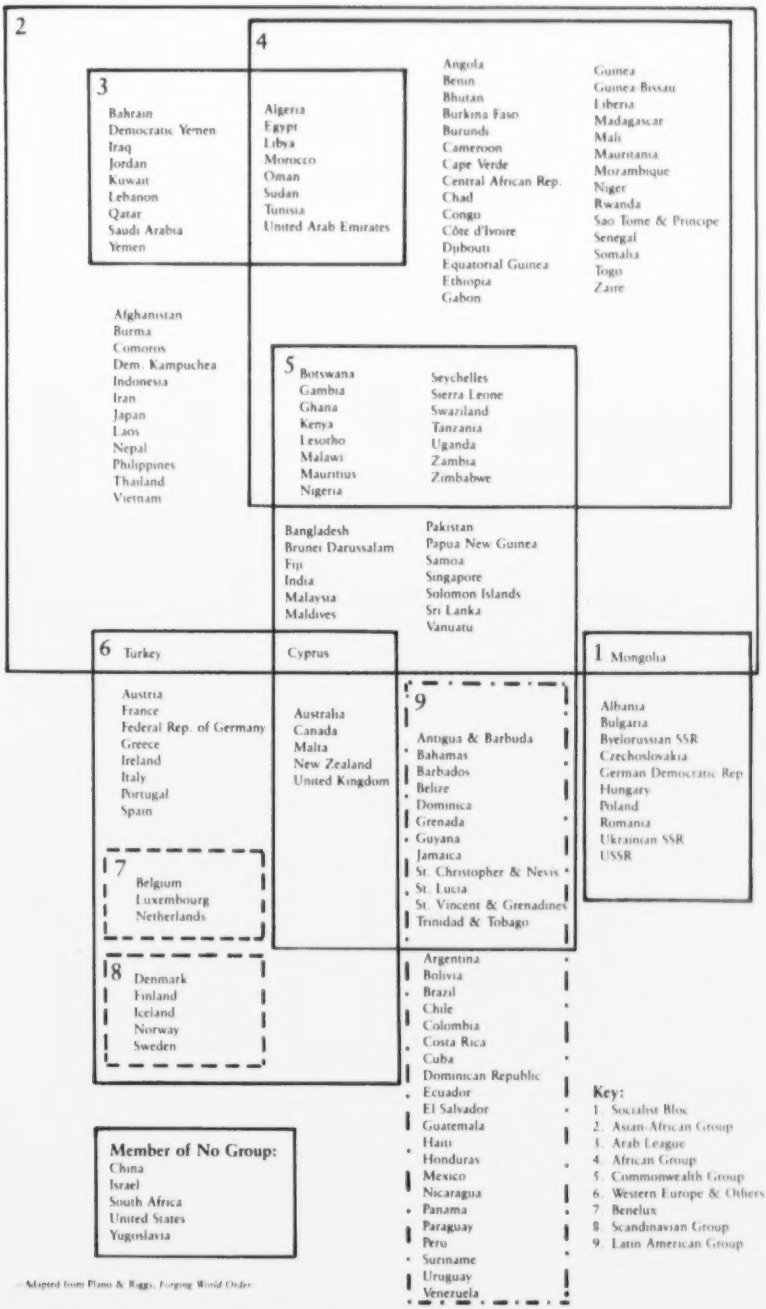
The history of Caucus Groups and their role in the United Nations is an interesting and frequently confusing one. The necessity of Caucus Groups was not formally established by the General Assembly until 1957, when a resolution "simply endorsing the representative principle" of the aggregation of interests from four regional Caucus Groups: Latin American; Asian and African; Eastern European; and Western and other. Since that time, Caucus Groups have never been referred to in the official actions of the General Assembly. Yet, much like the unofficial but, nonetheless, powerful role of political parties in American politics, both regional and ideological Caucus Groups have risen from this inauspicious beginning to occupy an extremely crucial role in the political processes of the General Assembly.

Although an expanded number of regional Caucus Groups still exists, ideological-based Caucus Groups (e.g. the Non-Aligned Movement or NAM, the Socialist bloc, etc.) have come to the forefront in the ever-constant effort to find common ground among various nations. Even those Caucus Groups based on other than geographical or ideological criteria have played important roles at various times in the General Assembly. Such Caucus Groups have varying degrees of internal cohesion ranging from the British Commonwealth of Nations (least cohesive) to the Warsaw Pact countries (most cohesive). This development and re-defining of the UN Caucus Group system over time, however, has not led to a fuller understanding of Caucus Groups within the Assembly any more than it has led to a fuller agreement among participating nations.

Throughout all of this it is necessary to realize one major fact about Caucus Groups and their role in the United Nations system: they are neither political parties nor decision-making groups. Rather, they are a means of consultation and communication among nations supposedly sharing common interests. Seldom is absolute agreement reached within any caucusing group. This may be more readily comprehended by stopping to realize that Caucus Groups are composed of nations with independent decision-making bodies. Thus, there exists little power within a Caucus Group to force the will of the majority upon the minority.

Even an overwhelming majority vote on an issue is meaningless in terms of an official Caucus Group position. Since unanimity is so difficult to achieve and since nations rarely share identical needs and purposes in the world community, Caucus Group meetings often produce nothing more than weak and meaningless resolutions or total disagreement. Caucus Groups do, however, serve a very definite purpose on those issues (such as *Apartheid* for the African Caucus Group) in which members of a particular Caucus Group share common opinions or policies.

In attempts to stimulate the continually changing Caucus Group structure of the United Nations, it is necessary for the Model UN secretariats to



—Adapted from Plano & Riggs, *Forging World Order*

decide upon an appropriate initial Caucus Group structure. With each different topic and issue the Caucus Groups may and should change.

Hopefully the utilization of Caucus Groups will lead to more enlightened debate and better organized proceedings in a Model UN. One thing all delegates must realize, however, is that while Caucus Groups are important in exerting influence in the Assembly, no single Caucus Group or voting bloc can dominate it. The interaction between nations and groups of nations with conflicting interests is what leads to the success or failure of measures in the General Assembly.

An Exciting Experience

Newcomers to a Model UN will very likely encounter mass confusion, frustration, and non-cooperation. Yet, even the most experienced Model UN student faces these same problems each time the gavel bangs and the simulation is off and running. Personality conflicts and inadequate information about the assigned country and issues are common flaws and each delegate is bound to encounter them at one time or another. No delegate should feel they are the only one feeling unsure and that all the other delegates are experts. Indeed, each delegate is working with incomplete information and each person will experience some uncertainty and have some doubts.

Each delegate must work with the information they have and should not be afraid to ask for assistance. Many Model UN conferences provide a "Home Government" or resource center, which delegates can use to fill in some of the gaps in their personal research or knowledge. Also, the faculty advisor or sponsor is a good source of help when confusion or uncertainly sets in. Each delegate should expect the unexpected and enjoy the adventure as it unfolds.

To avoid the pitfalls of uncertainty, internal communication within and frequent debriefings of the delegation by each member of the delegation are essential. Command of information and thorough knowledge of the assigned country's policy and interests are the most powerful elements in a Model UN. As an "Ambassador" of a Member State to the United Nations, each delegate is required to assure that the actions of other nations do not adversely impact the interests or sovereignty of their nation. While, at the same time, each delegate is obliged to cooperate and seek an agreeable solution to the issue(s) with other Member States.

Therefore, each delegate must be a different person than he is in reality. Each must transform themselves into Ambassadors, stripping away any vestige of their up-bringing and adopt the cultural, historical, social, and world-view of a different nation. In order to achieve this, some delegates have gone so far as to assume new names during preparation for and participation in a Model UN, immersing themselves completely in the role they intend to play.

In short, what is described above are the expectations for and the exhilaration of role-playing in a Model UN. Personal achievement, a delegation's performance and the overall success of the Model UN conference greatly depend on *good role-playing!* And, most importantly, role-playing is the most enjoyable and exciting experience in Model UNing.

HOW NATIONS INTERACT: REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES

Introduction

The complexity of international relations creates a veil of mystery and intrigue over the world for most people. At the same time, that complexity makes it difficult to comprehend how nations interact. The diverse external and internal forces that affect national life are, at best, difficult for an outsider to see, much less to know how they will impact on policy-making. Yet, the Model UN experience depends on each delegate's fullest possible understanding of their country's international and national position. The elements most crucial to such an understanding include the political dynamics of the country domestically, regionally, and internationally; the ideological basis of the nation's leadership and the historical context of its national development; the formal relationships the country has with its neighbors and other countries; the strategic concerns of the country; the foreign policy priorities of the nation and why each item is positioned so; and, finally, how a country presents and pursues its policies in regional and international organizations.

This section addresses some of these elements and is intended as a starting point for more in-depth research on the regions and countries of the world. These analytical divisions are necessarily selective and are by no means to be construed as the final word on the state of the world politically or economically. The interactions among nations is a dynamic that could not possibly be covered in one slim volume. Therefore, the reader should read this section as a first step before going on to other references and sources that are provided at the end of each regional description.

AFRICA

The African continent remains one of the most mysterious regions of our world. The diversity of cultures, religions, political systems, languages, and economies in Africa contributes to the colorful landscape and to the many problems which Africans are facing each day. In order to properly treat this diversity, we have divided up the region into four major sections-North Africa, East Africa, Central and West Africa, and Southern Africa. This division should not be construed as the only breakdown of the nations in Africa. Indeed, the interests and foreign policy objectives of African nations will and should shift according to the issues, therefore, different groupings should emerge. The reader should accept this abbreviated analysis of Africa as a starting point for more in-depth research on the region and the individual country of interest.

North Africa

North Africa is a region extraordinarily varied in its geographic and political composition. Vast stretches of the area consist of uninhabitable desert, with small patches of fertile, densely populated areas. North Africa is composed of the Maghreb nations (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya) and Egypt, and Chad. Each country has its own distinct political and economic structure. They have racially similar populations and are Non-Aligned, Arabic speaking, Muslim states. However, the political differences and regional rivalries prohibit significant cooperation. All are members of the United Nations, as well as other African, Arab, and Islamic forums, where they are able to voice their concerns and interests.

The Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, the largest North African state, came into being after a harsh eight year struggle for independence from French colonial rule (1954–62), which was led by the National Liberation Front (FLN). In 1976, the nation committed itself to building a socialist society, designated Islam as the state religion, and declared itself a single-party state with the FLN as its "vanguard force." Executive powers are con-

MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA
EGYPT
MAURITANIA
MALI
NIGER
CHAD
SUDAN
ARABIAN SEA
CAPE VERDE
SENEGAL
GAMBIA
GUINEA-BISSAU
GUINEA
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
CÔTE D'IVOIRE
GHANA
TOGO
BENIN
BURKINA FASO
NIGERIA
CAMEROON
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
ETHIOPIA
SOMALIA
EQUATORIAL GUINEA
SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE
GABON
CONGO
ZAIRE
UGANDA
KENYA
INDIAN
OCEAN
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
TANZANIA
ANGOLA
ZAMBIA
MALAWI
ZIMBABWE
MOZAMBIQUE
MADAGASCAR
Namibia
BOTSWANA
SOUTH AFRICA
AFRICA

centrated in the President, Colonel Bendjedid Chadli. Algeria's western neighbor and North African rival, Morocco, shares many of the problems that Algeria is experiencing, particularly rapid population growth and increasing urban unemployment, but in political structure it differs significantly. Morocco is a constitutional monarchy. The ruling Alaouite family, who claim descent from the Prophet Muhammad, has been in power since the mid-seventeenth century. Political power is highly centralized in the hands of King Hassan II, who also serves as the commander in chief. He appoints the Prime Minister and presides over the Cabinet.

The Tunisian Republic has a Presidential system supported by the Destourian Socialist Party (PSD). The President-for-life, Habib Bourguiba, who has ruled Tunisia since independence, enjoys wide powers, including the right to legislate by decree when the legislature is not in session. Bourguiba is now 83 years old and in uncertain health, and there is concern over who will succeed him. Libya's political path has diverged significantly from that of its neighbors. In 1951, Libya gained independence and formed a loose federation of its three provinces under a monarchy. However, the influx of oil revenues since the 1960s shattered the social bases on which King Idris ruled. The king was overthrown in 1969 by present Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Qaddafi, who put Libya on a path of militant Arab socialism. Qaddafi introduced his vision for the Socialists People's Libyan Arab Jamhiriya with his famous *Green Book,* which outlines a mix of nationalism, Islamic socialism, and populism for Libya's development, in 1971.

In Egypt, executive power is vested in a president, who is nominated by the People's Assembly and elected for a six year term. Muhammad Husni Mubarak presently holds this powerful Egyptian office, succeeding assassinated President Anwar Sadat, who was a signatory to the famous Camp David Accords, in 1981.

It is not only in politics that these countries differ. Their respective economies vary as well. Of the four Maghreb countries, only Algeria has a significant industrial development program, which is financed by revenues from oil and gas deposits. Morocco, without significant discoveries of oil and gas on its territory, has emphasized agricultural development. Yet, Morocco is in serious financial trouble today because of an ongoing drought, the high cost of oil, the high dollar against the Moroccan currency, and the expensive war it is waging over Western Sahara. Tunisia's development has been based on agriculture, tourism, and the exports of oil and phosphates, but it too is experiencing financial troubles. Libya, like Algeria, continues to benefit from large revenues generated by its oil deposits, but has a very small agricultural base.

These differences in political and economic bases have contributed to the divergent parochial interests and regional conflicts in North Africa. In the 1950s and 1960s, there was talk of a unity scheme called the "Greater Maghreb" between Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and Libya. A permanent Consultative Committee was established to implement regional cooperation.

Although some modest advances in the field of transport and communications were accomplished, the major political differences and the disparities of economies hindered any real progress. Libya has subsequently withdrawn from the Committee, and none of the other members are willing to surrender any power to such a regional grouping. Political and economic cooperation is also thwarted because of the suspicions each has for each other. There have been periods of cordiality, as when Bourguiba and Qaddafi signed a unity agreement in 1975 or when Qaddafi visited Morocco in 1983 and formed a short-term union, but these moments are temporary and the norm is more of tension and conflict.

The continuing conflict between Morocco and Algeria over the Western Sahara remains one of the most troublesome problems in North Africa. In 1975 when Spain withdrew from the Spanish Sahara (Western Sahara), Morocco and Mauritania agreed to partition the territory between themselves. This arrangement was met by indigenous opposition from the POLISARIO (Popular Front for the Liberation of Sequiet el-Hamra and Rio de Oro), an Algerian-backed guerilla organization. The POLISARIO demanded that the Western Sahara be granted complete independence. Bitter fighting has ensued for over twelve years. In 1983, an African peace plan proposed by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and subsequently adopted by the United Nations called for a cease-fire and direct negotiations between all the warring parties. No settlement to the conflict has been reached.

Another conflict of grave importance is the increasing tensions and conflict between Chad and Libya over their common border. The dispute was intensified in 1975 when Libya annexed the Aozou Strip, a territory in northern Chad rich in iron ore and uranium deposits. In addition, this tense relationship was further exacerbated by Libya's active participation in the Chadian civil war, supporting the opposition forces in the battle. The Libyan leader has also been accused of plotting to overthrow Mubarak's government in Egypt in 1983–84 and has continued border disputes with Algeria. Egypt, since its interim peace settlement with Israel has experienced severely strained relations with most of the Arab world, along with calls by the Arab League for diplomatic and economic isolation of Egypt and suspension of Cairo's membership in many Arab organizations.

Thus, the relations amongst North African nations are not always on the best of terms. In fact, many feel closer to Western Europe and the United States than to their African neighbors or other Arab nations. Most of North Africa's trade and commerce is directed toward the north, not the south. With the exception of Libya, North African governments enjoy friendly relations with the United States. King Hassan of Morocco has developed a special relationship with the US government and has been helpful in arranging contacts between Israel and Egypt. In addition, Morocco has supported most of the "conservative" regimes in Africa with periodic dispatches of security personnel to several countries, while supporting the US backed guerilla organization UNITA led by Jonas Savimbi in Angola.

Libya stands out as the maverick in North Africa. Its foreign policy has been characterized by a strong commitment to Arab unity and the destruction of the state of Israel. Relations with the West have been problematic since Qaddafi came to power in 1969 and expelled the British and other military forces. In May of 1981, the Reagan Administration ordered Tripoli to close its Washington People's Bureau in response to terrorism sponsored by Qaddafi. And, in 1985, the US accused Libya of involvement in the Palestinian gunmen attacks in the Rome and Vienna airports. Finally in 1986, President Reagan ordered all Libyan government assets in US banks be frozen, urged all Americans in Libya to leave, ordered a series of military maneuvers in the Gulf of Sirte off the coast of Libya, and conducted a strategic air strike against Libya. Libya's relations with the Soviet Union have, meanwhile, grown stronger.

Although it seems unlikely from the brief survey above that the countries in North Africa would have any common foreign policy goals and objectives, there do emerge certain similarities in the political agenda for the region. One such priority is the issue of Palestine. The North African states have consistently voiced their support for the Palestinian cause in many forums. Egypt, as an active member of the Arab world, has declared its unqualified support for the inalienable rights of the Palestinians for self-determination and a homeland. Tunisia has also played an active role in trying to bring about an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict, stressing the need for a resolution of the Palestinian question as an integral part of any overall settlement. The other issue of common concern is the status of Jerusalem and this question has received notable attention from the North Africans. Indeed, a military campaign to liberate Jerusalem from Israeli control would attract substantial support in North Africa, according to some political analysts of the region.

These issues have been expressed at the General Assembly meetings of the United Nations for several years. In the speeches before the most recent General Assembly, the North African nations gave top priority to the questions of Palestine, *apartheid,* and Namibia. Foreign Minister Abdel-Meguid of Egypt argued that because of Egypt's location, relations, and long association with the Palestinian question, it is best equipped to act as a direct party to the dispute. Concerning *apartheid,* Foreign Minister Taleb Ibrahimi of Algeria declared that it was the collective responsibility of the international community to hasten the end of this "crime." The six countries in North Africa also agreed in denouncing the occupation of Namibia by South Africa. Other major issues addressed were the need for a general and complete disarmament, an effort to reach a settlement in Afghanistan, support for the Contadora group in Central America, and a solution to the crises of external indebtedness faced by most Third World nations. Regional issues were also addressed, particularly the conflicts in Chad and Western Sahara. But, Libya's speech in the General Assembly differed dramatically from that of its neighbors. It focused on the recent bombing of Libya by the United States condemning the US for "undermining the sovereignty of Libya." Libya, on the

other hand, did conform on the major issues with the other North African nations in its voting pattern on resolutions in the 41st General Assembly.

The United Nations is the largest of the international forums where the North African countries address these issues. But, these countries are also members of the Islamic Conference, which seeks to promote Islamic solidarity and cooperation on a wide-range of issues, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), and, with the exception of Morocco, the Organization of African Unity. In addition, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya are members of the League of Arab States and the Arab Monetary Fund. (Egypt's membership in these two organizations was suspended in 1979 when Egypt and Israel signed the Camp David Accords.)

The nations of North Africa have played an active role in international organizations and a leading role in the affairs of the Developing world. They have the unusual combination of being members of both the African and Arab worlds. This combination is often the important element most needed and sought after when the world is seeking solution to global issues.

East Africa

The region known as East Africa can be generally classified as the area which lies along the eastern coast of the African continent from Sudan in the north to Tanzania in the south, including the area known as the Horn of Africa, which comprises Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Somalia, and the nations of Central East Africa—Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi. In the north east section (Sudan, Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Somalia), the Ethiopian mountains and high plateaux of southern Sudan, which receive ample rainfall and moderate temperatures, contrast with the majority of the area which consists of the lower central and the south east (Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi). The large number of lakes in the region, the largest being Lake Victoria, have earned the area the title, "Africa of the Great Lakes."

East Africa contains some of the poorest nations of the continent, albeit in varying degrees, due to a variety of factors. The economies of the region are primarily and traditionally agricultural, with over 85% of the population living on farms. Subsistence agriculture has historically been the dominant occupation, although cash crops grown for export have emerged as a major economic sector and primary earner of foreign exchange.

In the north east, coffee, cotton, sugar, peanut, and sesame are grown as cash crops. In the central and south eastern countries, the major export crops likewise include coffee, cotton, sugar, although tea and sisal are also important crops. Industrial activity in this area has generally developed based on the processing of local agricultural crops. Kenya is by far the most industrialized of the central east African nations, with growing activity in the production of textiles and clothing, oil refining, and a substantial tourist industry. Yet, even with emerging industries, all East African nations are still

subject to great economic pressures. The issue of economic underdevelopment has and continues to plague all of the governments. Aid from abroad has helped, whether from individual donor countries or international organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank. Recently, nations such as Kenya and Uganda have accepted help in their governmental economic planning in order to uphold their obligations in this economic struggle. But the issue involves more than economics.

The political history of East Africa is complex and diverse, each nation experiencing a mixture of military coups, peaceful transitions, and administered political change since independence was attained during the 1950s and 1960s (excluding Ethiopia whose emperors resisted colonization except before WWII when it was occupied by Italy). Sudan is a prime example, emerging as an Independent Republic in 1956, changing to a revolutionary military regime after the coup of 1969, experiencing a one-party socialist system following the reorganization of the government in 1971, and finally, after the military coup of April 1985, the Transitional Military Council was established, which later became the Supreme Council, before Sudan became a Democratic Republic with a head of state, a prime minister, and a Constituent Assembly.

Currently, most of the East African nations are governed by a president who is the leader of the sole legal political party of the country. The Kenya African National Union (KANU) led by President Daniel arap Moi and the Popular Rally for Progress in Djibouti led by President Hassan Gouled Aptidon are both examples. The political instability of the region, which has been extremely detrimental to its developmental process, has its roots in the ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity of its peoples. Indigenous tribal heritages confront colonial orientations; local dialects, of which in some nations there exist hundreds, have been blended with European languages; and the Islamic peoples are faced with a large but divided Christian and animist presence. All of these factors pose great difficulties for national unification and political stability, as evidenced by the course of history. The problem is especially notable in the Horn of Africa where transborder historical and cultural affinities have created irredentist ambitions and political opposition along the Ethiopian, Somalian, and Djibouti borders. In Somalia, numerous opposition groups exist such as the Somali Democratic Salvation Front, the Somali Salvation Front, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Somali, and the Somalia National Movement. In Djibouti, illegal opposition groups include the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Djibouti, the Djibouti Liberation Movement, and the Djibouti People's Party. Such opposition makes the government's job of establishing peace and seeking prosperity even harder than it already is in terms of the continuous natural disasters they encounter. Ethiopia has long been torn with secessionist movements from Eritrea in the North to Tigre in the West and Ogaden in the East. Most of these movements have an ideology as Marxist as the Addis Ababa government's.

In order to deal with the regional economic and political problems, a number of regional alliances and political organizations have been created or joined with the purpose of unifying their efforts. The East African Community, which was formed between Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda in 1967, historically the most prominent arrangement in the region, sought to unify economic transport and resources and establish preferential trade agreements. Although terminated in 1977 due to political differences, many of the arrangements between these nations are continued today in further agreements, i.e. the Northern Corridor Transit Traffic Agreement, to control the border between Tanzania and Kenya, and the recently established Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development, to coordinate relief efforts and developmental projects. The Preferential Trade Area, a 15 member organization encompassing nations of east and southern Africa, was established to further the objectives of increasing and liberalizing trade among the nations of the region. International organizations have also established a significant presence in the region, especially in terms of economic aid and investment. Most of these nations are members of the East African Development Bank (EADB), the African Development Bank, the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa, the Islamic Development Bank, and the Arab Monetary Fund. In addition, all of these nations are also members of the IMF and the World Bank upon which they often prevail upon for help in the economic arena.

Political alliances and orientation are also based on a variety of organizations in the region. Many of the nations, such as Sudan and Somalia, belong to a number of Arab and Islamic organizations due to the large number of such groups in their populations (i.e. the League of Arab States and the Islamic Conference). All the East African nations are members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which has become the sounding board for African opinion at home and acts as a representative for African nations abroad. In terms of East-West orientation all of these nations are members of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), which acts as a representative for "neutral" nations in East-West conflicts, although there are specific deviations from this prescribed course depending on the various economic, military and political needs (i.e. witness the change in political orientation in Ethiopia or Somalia during the 1977 conflicts or the shifting of Sudan's alliances since the election of Sadiz al-Mahdi's Umma party in April of 1986).

The political agenda of the East African nations is based on specific east African interests, coupled with a larger interest in African issues as a whole and broad political objectives in the international arena. Within East Africa specifically there are many controversial and significant issues to be dealt with—border conflicts between Ethiopia and Somalia and Ethiopia and Sudan, the civil war in Ethiopia against the Eritrean secessionists, the growing refugee problem in almost all the nations, drought and desertification especially in Sudan and Somalia, and human rights abuses in places such as Uganda. One area of consensus that does exist is the importance that all of

these nations attach to the process of economic development for their future and the need for a larger role to be played by the developed nations. This objective becomes intermingled with their political agenda as the political environment has a great effect on economic development.

With regard to the political beliefs of the East African nations, there is greater harmony when discussing African issues outside this specific region. In terms of the crucial issue of *apartheid* and the occupation of Namibia by South Africa, all of the East African nations are adamantly opposed to South Africa's policies of racial segregation and feel its occupation of Namibia is illegal and intolerable. The black African nations, as opposed to the more Arab and Islamic populated states, are more vocal in their denunciation of this situation and give greater support for the Front-Line States. On other issues, a resolution of the Palestinian conflict and recognition of the rights of the Palestinians are of utmost importance, especially for the Arab nations, such as Sudan and Somalia. An end to the conflict in Nicaragua and a cessation of foreign interference in this area is advocated by all. In addition, the East African nations have promoted a peaceful solution to the problems of Korea, Kampuchea, and Afghanistan. The reality of each nation's political objective is often hard to discern and has to be surmised from public statements and subsequent actions.

Turning to the United Nations, the East African nations have consistently and quite adequately voiced their specific regional concerns and larger objectives in General Assembly debates and through the voting process, presenting an important consensus on many issues that effect their region. The more vocal supporters of the East African cause, and of their own specific national interests, have been Kenya, who has strong ties with the developed world, and Ethiopia, on account of its special plight and due to its political orientation. During the 41st General Assembly, the speeches in the general debate by the delegates of the East African nations followed the basic outline of the political agenda presented above. But there were significant differences in the priorities each assigned to the various issues. For instance, some nations used the General Assembly debate to stress their own national issues, problems, and outlook for their future. Sudan's Prime Minister, Alsadig Al-Mahdi, was present at the debate to explain the problems his nation confronts and its plan for the future, emphasizing a commitment to democracy and a new economic plan. Other nations were most concerned with the economic development of the underdeveloped African nations as a whole. The delegates of Djibouti and Kenya stressed this problem and presented proposals for future action and commended current developments.

All East African nations support the results of the special session of the General Assembly in May of 1986 which was convened to consider the critical economic situation in Africa and to focus on possible international solutions. The result was the Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, 1986–1990. Support of its implementation and future success are a priority for all. Also, a topic of discussion for all, al-

though some nations, such as Ethiopia and Kenya, were stronger in their statements, was the issue of *apartheid*. Mr. Mwangale of Kenya most eloquently and forcefully expressed his country's opposition to the system of racial segregation when he quoted Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi as saying,

> Across the whole spectrum of impact and meaning, *apartheid* lies as an anguish upon the conscience of all civilized men. It violates those universal principles of human dignity and conduct which the United Nations has been authorized to codify and to harness. And there is no doubt that it affronts the very foundation of international law. On those three grounds alone, . . *apartheid* must be destroyed.
>
> (A/41PV.11 p. 43)

The occupation of Namibia is equally as disturbing to these nations and they demand that South Africa allow the United Nations to assume its full responsibility for Namibia as implemented in the Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

In terms of international issues, the East African nations of Arabic and Islamic heritage, such as Sudan, Somalia, and Djibouti, were significantly concerned with the plight of the Palestinian refugees and the PLO. It is also interesting to note the voting patterns of some of the nations in light of their initial speeches and their political orientation. Ethiopia voted against the resolution promoting a peaceful and comprehensive settlement of the situation in Kampuchea and also the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. As a Marxist-oriented state with strong Soviet ties, Ethiopia's political objectives do not fall in line with the rest of the region in the UN. Finally, Uganda, which has been beset by extreme political and economic difficulties and is struggling to get on its own feet, often is absent from voting, a reflection of their domestic instability.

Central and West Africa

West and Central Africa comprise the area of the African continent lying along the western coast of Africa from Mauritania in the north to Zaire in the south and extending inward to Nigeria in the upper region of the continent and the Central African Republic in the lower region. West Africa can be divided into two regional subgroups, the Sudano-Sahelian states (Senegal, Gambia, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger, Mauritania, Guinea-Bissau, and the Cape Verde Islands) and the Guinean states (Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Ghana, Togo, Dahomey, and Nigeria). Central

Africa consists of seven countries: Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Gabon, Congo, Zaire, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe.

West Africa is a very diversified area in terms of geography and climate. From the rocky mountainous coast along the Atlantic, the region changes to high plateaux and forests in its interior. There is a general climatic contrast between the heavy rainfall and humidity of the region around the Equator and north to the 10th parallel in the Guinean zone and the semi-arid conditions present in the north, especially in the Sahelian zone. Agriculture is the dominant occupation of the West African peoples, with both food crops and cash crops being grown. The main crops of this area include cereals, millet sorghum, maize, and rice. In the humid and more tropical regions coffee, peanuts, and bananas are successful crops. Industrial activity is based upon the natural resources found in the area, i.e. oil and copper, while development has been limited due to inadequate transport and communications of the region. Cote d'Ivoire is one of the most advanced nations of the region. The country's agricultural success in the last decades has allowed the government to promote economic diversification, particularly with regard to agri-processing and textile production.

Central Africa comprises a region of monotonous topography, with only a few high mountains in Cameroon and eastern Zaire. The greater part of the region consists of flat stretches and low valleys. Fed by the Equatorial rains, Central Africa possesses the most powerful river system of the African continent and experiences very humid climatic conditions. Agriculture continues to be the occupation of over 80% of the population, with subsistence farming being the dominant mode. Commercial farming is for the most part conducted by large foreign firms, a legacy of the colonial era in the region. The main food crops are maize, peanuts, beans, and peas, while cash crops include coffee, cocoa, sugar, bananas, and cotton. Central Africa's mining resources are the basis for the most important industrial centers of the region. The processing industries, which are more or less developed and diversified according to country, the textile industry being the most developed, have experienced remarkable expansion in the last few decades, giving rise to spectacular urban growth.

Currently, most of the West and Central African nations exist as independent republics and are led by a President or Prime Minister who is the leader of the political party of the government (an exception being Equatorial Guinea where, after a military coup in August 1979, political parties were banned by the new military leader, Colonel Obiang). Yet the area is by no means politically stable today. Extensive opposition forces exist in most nations, whether legal or underground, due to ethnic differences, religious disparities, territorial disagreements, and especially, political beliefs (i.e. in Senegal there are over 16 opposition groups and in Zaire there are numerous exile and clandestine groups opposing the government, the most notable being the Union for Democracy and Social Progress, the Congo National Movement, the Congolese National Liberation Front, and the Popular Revo-

lutionary Party). Political instability is also evident from the attempted and successful military coups that continue to occur in the region: the military coup of August 1985 in Nigeria, the coup of December 1985 in Mauritania, the attempted coup of July 1985 in Guinea, and the most recent attempted coup that occurred in March of this year in Sierra Leone. Peaceful political changes also continue to occur, such as the major cabinet reshuffle in March 1987 by President Doe of Liberia which continues to change the political outlook of this nation.

In order to deal with the economic and political problems of the region, a number of regional alliances and organizations have been formed. In West Africa, the main regional economic organizations are the Economic Community of the West African States, established in 1975 to harmonize West African economic policies, and the rival Economic Community of West Africa, established in 1974 in order to liberalize trade among member nations. More specific organizations also exist, such as the Niger Basin Authority created in 1965 as a research and organizational alliance; the West African Rice Development Association, established in 1971 to make West Africa self-sufficient in rice production; and the Lake Chad Basin development of natural resources of the Lake Chad area. In Central Africa, the Central African Customs and Economic Union, formed in October 1974, strives to create economic unity and free trade in the area. A number of organizations have also been established or joined by the central and west African nations in order to receive economic aid and financial assistance, including the West African Development Bank, the West African Clearing House, the African Development Bank, the European Investment Bank, the IMF, and the World Bank.

In terms of politics, complex relationships and alliances exist within the region and also internationally. Nigeria, as the largest and richest West African country, long had pretensions to lead the region if not the continent. However, the recent decline in oil prices has drastically reduced Nigeria's regional, continental and global influence. The nations of West Africa belong to the larger regional organizations such as the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement. Of course, there are major differences in the extent to which these nations maintain a neutral position. Some exhibit pro-West views and actions. Other nations such as Guinea-Bissau and Niger have stronger relationships with the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries due to economic, military, and political reasons.

The political objectives of the West and Central African nations present a compendium of specific national goals, regional priorities, general African concerns, and international aims. Some countries are still in the process of national consolidation, and as such, this objective occupies most of their time. President Lansana Conte of Guinea has not found it easy to overcome the legacies of Sekou Toure's corrupt and authoritarian rule as Conte tries to restore domestic and international confidence in his country. Other nations, such as Mali and Mauritania, are more preoccupied with economic problems

in light of the recent drought and are concentrating on trying to remedy the economic malaise of their countries. Some countries are experiencing border conflicts and resolution of these problems is a part of their political agenda (i.e. the conflict between Nigeria and Chad over their border through Lake Chad). The resolution of the conflict in the West Sahara is significant for most, especially nations who are closer to the conflict and more directly affected such as Mauritania and Senegal. The civil war in Chad and Libya's incursions into the region are also a matter that is taken into serious consideration by the West and Central African nations, especially those in the immediate vicinity such as Nigeria and Cameroon. In terms of Africa as a whole, they are all greatly concerned with the plight of the peoples of South Africa who are being subjected to policies of *apartheid* and the peoples of Namibia who are being illegally ruled by South Africa. With the exception of the Cote d'Ivoire, they have all been adamant in their denunciation of these policies, most notably through their combined presence in the OAU. In international affairs, the nations of West and Central Africa have registered their opposition to the conflict in Central America, the Iran-Iraq war, the situation in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, and Korea. Yet these problems are of lesser importance in the short term, in light of the economic and political troubles they are faced with at home. The only area which seems to be a priority is the situation in the Middle East. Some of the nations of this region have gotten actively involved in the problems of this region, on both sides.

The involvement of the West and Central African nations in the United Nations has been consistent with their political agendas outlined above. Although there appears to be consensus on most issues, there are differences in the importance they assign to each issue. Economic problems and future relief and developmental assistance efforts are a priority for many. Specifically, nations such as Mauritania and Mali describe the difficulties they have experienced due to the extreme drought in this region and express optimism and hope for the success of the UN Programme for African Economic Recovery and Development: 1986–1990. Other nations, such as Zaire, emphasize the issue of foreign debt and the problems associated with it. The situation in Western Sahara is a problem addressed by many in their speeches with special attention being paid by those closer to the area of conflict (i.e. the delegate from Ghana emphasized his belief in the right of self-determination for the people of Western Sahara and the need for Morocco to enter negotiations with the Polisario Front). The civil war in Chad and activities by Libya in this nation are also discussed. The delegates from the Central African Republic and from Zaire emphasized this problem and their hope for resolution. The crucial issue of *apartheid* and the occupation of Namibia was a part of all the speeches of the West and Central African delegates, although some were more emphatic in their denunciation of South Africa and the measures needed to be taken, such as Senegal, and reiterated the need for Western support to end this situation. In terms of the Middle East situation, all nations spoke on behalf of the Palestinian people and their right to a home-

land. The problems of Central America and conflicts in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, and Korea were also included by all as matters which need to be peacefully resolved. Looking at the voting records of the delegations of these regions, all of the delegates voted in line with their initial statements throughout the Assembly. The one notable exception was the abstention of Cote d'Ivoire in the case of the resolution condemning South Africa's policies of *apartheid* and calling for an embargo. Although Cote d'Ivoire did not emphasize this issue in its speech, its abstention is notable as this is an issue on which all African nations feel very strongly and which the Western nations, especially the United States, have been more reticient in denouncing.

Southern Africa

The actions of Southern Africa's most powerful nation, South Africa, largely continue to dominate the region and affect the smaller, "front-line" states (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe). South Africa remains the dominant state in the area, both economically and militarily. Despite the many criticisms and objections by neighboring states leveled against Pretoria, these same states are often economically dependent, to some extent, on South Africa—from the more open, democratic states like Botswana to the self-described Marxist states like Mozambique or Zimbabwe. These nations' attacks on South Africa remain to date largely verbal, delivered from a speaker's rostrum in the UN; nonetheless the Southern African states are seeking concrete, coordinated action among themselves in dealing with South Africa's intransigence.

South Africa's racially discriminatory practice of *apartheid* remains the principal point of contention in the region. The consensus of the region runs wholly and overwhelmingly against South Africa and the Southern states routinely criticize the Pretoria regime. Most of these African states call for the total dismantling of the system lending strong rhetorical support to national liberation organizations like the African National Congress (ANC). Some states see no chance at all for internal reform, calling instead for outright uprising or at the very least worldwide cooperation in fighting *apartheid*. South Africa for its part continues to follow its own path.

Continued South African occupation of Namibia is another important issue for the region. Despite the UN mandate of international jurisdiction over the territory, South Africa refuses to acknowledge any other supervision of Namibia other than its own. The UN officially recognizes the South West African Peoples' Organization (SWAPO) as the legitimate voice of the Namibian people and has called for the independence of the nation with free elections in Security Council resolution 435. South Africa, nonetheless, continues to dominate the territory, arguing that SWAPO is actually a communist backed organization which, once in power, would serve Soviet interests in Southern Africa. In addition, South Africa links resolution of the Nami-

bian issue with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola (an approach echoed by the US). Angola gained its independence from the Portugese in the mid 1970s. The government of Angola is Marxist and it asserts its right to assist SWAPO forces in Namibia by supplying camps on its territory. South Africa objects to both this practice and the presence of Cuban forces in Angola, which it fears as another manifestation of the Soviet threat in Southern Africa. South Africa provides support to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA rebels, who are battling the Angolan government. Occasionally, South Africa raids SWAPO camps in Angola, and argues that no withdrawal from Namibia is possible until the Cubans leave. This argument the "front-line" states reject outright. Most nations in the region openly support Angola and criticize South African policies.

A fourth point of contention is South Africa's raids into the "front-line" states and its support of other rebel groups in the region. South Africa supports the right-wing Renamo rebels fighting the government of Mozambique. Besides support for Renamo, South Africa has raided ANC guerilla camps in Lesotho and Botswana, threatening similar action in the future if these countries continued to provide safe haven for the ANC.

Despite broad disapproval of South Africa's racial and military policies in the region, most "front-line" states depend economically upon South Africa to some extent. For many nations in the region, South Africa is a gate through which vital imports pass (70–90% of all Zimbabwe's and Botswana's imports). Many "front-line" states belong to the Southern African Customs Union, whose rules are set by Pretoria. Yet, some nations have recently attempted to break free of such control by establishing their own similar trade organization—the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC), which seeks to promote reduced economic dependence on South Africa by creating new trade routes. Countries with greater economic dependence on South Africa, due to geography or political orientation, are often more cautious in their disagreement or attacks on Pretoria's policies.

States in the Southern Africa region vary a great deal politically and economically. Zimbabwe, formerly Rhodesia, was liberated from white minority rule after a long and bitter struggle in the 1970s. It is considered the most economically viable of all the "front-line" states, despite its economic ties to South Africa. Zimbabwe is an important member of organizations such as OAU and the NAM. Zimbabwe employs a high level of rhetoric against South Africa's policies, and it actively arms and supports Mozambique in its efforts against the Renamo rebels. Nations in Southern Africa that bear similar political characteristics include Angola and Mozambique. Zambia has similar political characteristics to this group, but it is not quite as active or militant.

Some of the nations listed above do not share Zimbabwe's strength and have been limited by war or general economic disadvantage. Angola shares common ideological ground with Zimbabwe, but its on-going war with UNITA and South Africa and its poor economic health weaken the nation's

overall position. Mozambique has been especially hard hit by the Renamo forces, who now have a general foothold in the south of the country. Despite support from Zimbabwe and even direct Soviet Bloc support in the war, Mozambique signed a non-aggression pact with Pretoria, known as the Nkomatio Accord. The country also was hit by severe drought and famine.

Other "front-line" states are characteristically more pro-western in outlook. Their rhetoric toward South African policies is severe, but generally more subdued due to close geographical or economic relations with South Africa. These nations fear the potential effect that sweeping change could have upon their own economies or the security of the region.

Botswana, for example, is critical of South Africa's actions in Namibia and of *apartheid*, but it does not engage in the same strident rhetoric as that of Angolan or Zimbabwean officials. Instead, Botswana stresses its efforts to move away from dependence upon South Africa through the SADCC. The small nations of Swaziland and Lesotho, which are within South Africa's influence, tend not to confront South Africa directly. Lesotho has been easily manipulated by Pretoria since its trade routes can easily be cut off, and Swaziland has a non-aggression agreement with South Africa. Thus direct sanctions against South Africa could potentially have an immediate negative effect on these smaller nations, and they stress coming up with solutions that would punish South Africa, not them. These countries are by no means uncritical of South Africa, but they are generally more cautious.

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ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

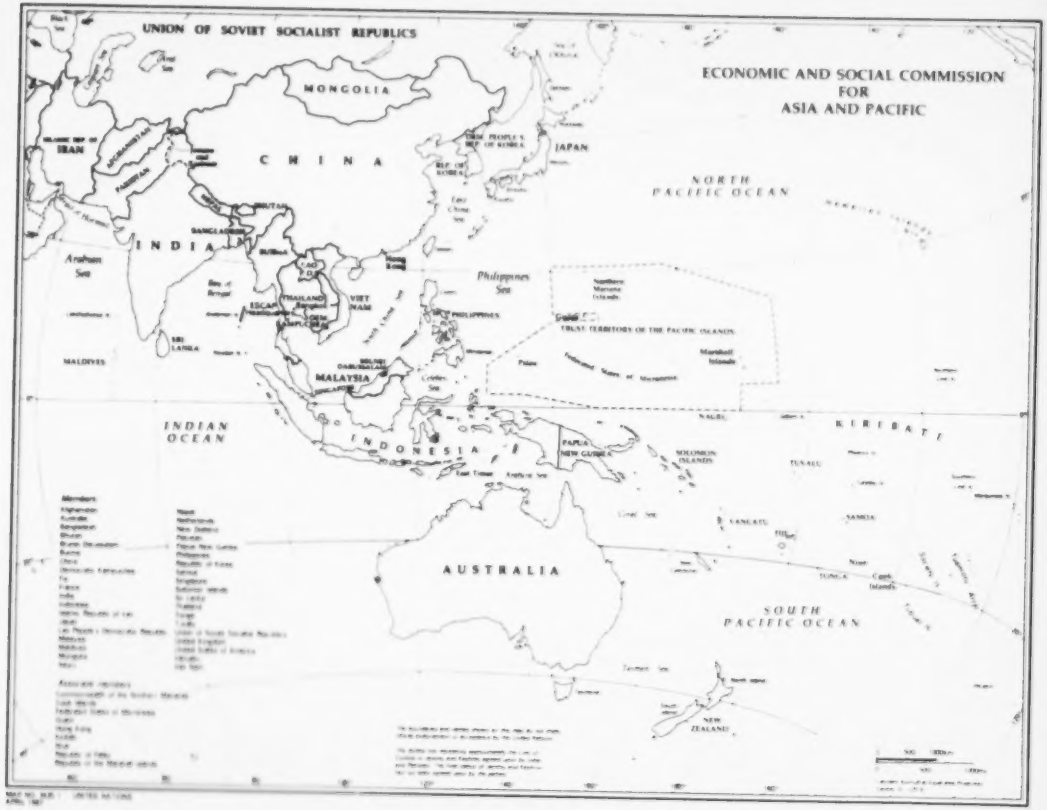
This vast and populous section of our world is not an easy one to define or describe. The diversity and volatility of Asia has intrigued many. The distinctive and rich character of each nation in this region has captured the attention of the rest of the world, and as we approach a new century, there can be no doubt that this region will play an important role.

In order to grasp the complexities of the political relationship of this region, we have divided Asia and the Pacific into three sub-regions: East Asia, South Asia, and the South Pacific. This geographical break-down of Asia and the Pacific aids the extremely complex and overlapping patterns of interaction within and between the sub-regions. The pace and frequency of change necessitates a keen eye to discern the prospects of cooperation and conflict for nations of Asia and the Pacific.

East Asia

Eastern Asia can be defined as the countries, population, and geography of two regions normally seen as distinct: South East Asia and East Asia proper. East Asia is usually defined to include The People's Republic of China, Japan, Mongolia, Taiwan, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), the Republic of Korea (South Korea), the Portugese territory of Macau, and the British protectorate of Hong Kong. (The two Koreas, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Macau are not voting members of the UN). South East Asia consists of Brunei Darussalam, Burma, Democratic Kampuchea (Cambodia), Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines. The combined population of the region is at approximately 1.65 billion people according to 1985 estimates.

The East Asian region includes portions of the Asian continent and the islands and archipelagoes of Taiwan, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Japan in the Pacific. On the continent, mountains and plateaus predominate, especially in China, which is flanked on its northwestern and southeastern sides by two ranges that respectively include the Himalayan and the Altai ranges.



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These areas are on average anywhere from 1,600 to 10,000 feet above sea level. The continental southeast by contrast is composed mainly of plains and low lands. The climate on the mainland varies from artic temperatures around Soviet Asia in the north to warmer tropical temperatures in the south. Rainfall also increases from west to east, going from as little as 10 inches per year inland, from areas around the Gobi desert, to anywhere from 80 to 120 inches a year in eastern Asia because of the seasonal monsoon storms. Major rivers include the Yangtze (Asia's largest at 3,716 mi.), the Yellow, the Huang Ho, and the Mekong, all of which drain into the Pacific Ocean.

The East Asian island chains in the east and southeast are also predominantly mountainous and volcanic. The region is tied to the Pacific Ocean in the east and the Indian Ocean to the south. Of strategic significance are the Malacan, Lombok, and Suda Straits which link the two oceans together. The straits are vital sealanes for commerce (especially the shipment of oil from the Middle East) and transportation (naval maneuverability) between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres.

Inter-Governmental Organizations and Regional Politics

The only major regional organization in East Asia at present is the **Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)** composed of six countries: Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Brunei, Malaysia, and the Philippines. ASEAN still provides a strong league against countries allied with the USSR in the region, especially Vietnam, Laos, and the coalition government of democratic Kampuchea. The other regional organization, the **South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO)**, born out of the US-Soviet Cold War period, ceased to exist in the early 1970s.

In terms of East-West security relations, alliances of the past remain firmly entrenched. The region is divided between the Soviet allied nations of Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, and Mongolia, and the pro-Western nations of Japan, the ASEAN, South Korea, and the territories of Taiwan, Macau, and Hong Kong. Although not formally allied with the US, China's lingering suspicion of Soviet intentions persists, so China continues to pursue a policy of close association with the West to offset a growing Soviet presence in the region. North Korea, after a period of estrangement, is shifting once more into the Soviet sphere. And Burma has remained strategically neutral in its relations to both superpowers.

Many East Asian countries are also members of the Group of 77 and the Non-Aligned Movement, loose configurations of Third World nations which promote economic advancement among their members and provide a third option to traditional political alignments with the East or the West.

Militarily, the Soviet Union continues to be the primary supplier of arms to Vietnam, North Korea, and Laos. Vietnam possesses the most sophisticated conventional force in the region. North Korea and South Korea appear

to be equally balanced on all fronts; neither side could decisively win a major offensive without escalation. China has been modernizing its army and air force, with sophisticated western technology replacing obsolete Soviet equipment. China still primarily relies on its traditional defense policy of deterrence by threat of nuclear retaliation and People's War—guerilla warfare using its 1.055 billion population. It continues to intently scrutinize the highly militarized Sino-Soviet border with unrelenting vigilance.

The Soviet Union has expanded its military presence in the region as part of its renewed interest in Asia. The steady upgrading of Soviet capabilities in the region has been offset by the United States' enhanced Seventh Fleet that has patrolled Asian waters since 1985. Japan has increased its military expenditures for its defense forces.

Economic figures likewise reflect Eastern and Western connections in the region. Most of Indo-Chinese trade is directed at markets in the Soviet sphere. Performance of Soviet-backed nations indicate that their economies are ailing. The Mongolian economy is in critical condition, and must rely on subsidies from the Soviet Union. In 1986, Vietnam fell far short of its production goals for stimulating its failing economy. Vietnam has received over the last several years an estimated $1 billion dollars in military and economic assistance from the Soviet Union per year. The Soviet Union has promised to increase aid to Vietnam over the next five years to $1.6 billion dollars annually. Similarly, the Soviet Union promised to double its level of economic assistance to Kampuchea which is presently at $136 million dollars per year.

The non-aligned economies of Burma and, marginally, of North Korea have fared somewhat better by remaining neutral. North Korea has played off both China and the Soviet Union in the past. During the late 1970s, North Korea independently began seeking economic and political relations with non-aligned and several Western nations, resulting in Pyongyang's estrangement from Moscow, a relationship which is only now being reconciled. While both nations have fared substantially better, their gains have been noticeably modest. North Korea has benefitted from its new non-aligned status in three ways: it has received recognition for its independent policies since becoming a member in 1978; it has acquired an international forum where none existed before, gained allies who support its position for the removal of US troops from the Korean peninsula; and can interact more closely with other developing countries to further promote trade, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural relations.

In stark contrast has been the economic success of the "Western-aligned" nations. Most notable of all the Asian rags-to-riches stories in the last twenty years has been the phenominal success of Japan. Its GNP is currently third in the world, but many economists predict that it will surpass the Soviet economy for second place by the 1990s. Both Japan and the United States currently account for 50% of the world market economies' output and Japan alone accounts for about 35% of the world's production figures. 37.2% of Japan's exports went to the United States and 18.9% went to ASEAN in

1985. China has emerged in recent years as Japan's second largest export market. Of Japan's imports in 1985, 19.9% came from the United States, 23.4% came from ASEAN, and 5% was from China. In 1985, Japan exported about $175.6 billion dollars worth of goods to world markets.

The "Four Little Dragons" of Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and South Korea have similarly been successful on the world market and in emulating Japanese success. ASEAN countries have made spectacular gross national product (GNP) gains over the last twenty years, with annual increases of between 6.5% and 7.5%, and sometimes over 8%. They were classified in 1982 by the World Bank as "middle income economies". ASEAN has sought to maintain strong economic ties with the US, Japan, China, and its own members. China has made steady gains since opening itself to trade, investment, technology, tourism, and modernization. Its main exports have been commodities and food products. China's trade has risen 13 times from $500 million in 1976 to $6.4 billion in 1984 with the US and three times from $3.9 billion to $13.2 billion with Japan for the same period. After abandoning the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) in 1950, China has recently applied for readmission as a developing member.

Regional trade between these nations and the exportation of their products to foreign markets has intensified over the years. However, the start of the 1980s has witnessed a real decline in terms of economic growth and exports abroad. The situation has been critical enough to cause concern among these nations as regional political stability is directly affected by the outcome. The "Western-aligned" nations of East Asia are presently concerned about the prospects of their future prosperity and motivated by a very real fear of losing everything they've worked so hard for.

Political Agenda for the Region

There were many important issues on the political agenda for East Asia in 1986. In reflection, three stood out: two of them can be classified as crisis situations—the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea and the potential Communist conflict arising in the Philippines. The third problem was sustaining the economic development of the East Asian region in the face of mounting worldwide protectionism.

The Kampuchean-Vietnam conflict remains deadlocked with little likelihood of a peaceful negotiated settlement in the near future. Vietnam still retains the upper hand militarily. Since first invading Kampuchea seven years ago, the Vietnamese army retains overwhelming superiority on the field in terms of numbers and conventional weapons. There are approximately 170,000 Vietnamese occupation troops in Kampuchea at present. This contrasts to the armies of the three Kampuchean resistance groups whose combined numbers total just over 50,000. The guerilla groups consist of the

Communist Khmer Rouge (estimated at 30,000), the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) under former Prime Minister Son Sann (estimated at 17,000), and the Sihanoukist National Army (SNA) led by hereditary prince Norodom Sihanouk (estimated at 8,000).

Despite the Vietnamese army's superior military capabilities, they have been unable to rout the firmly entrenched resistance groups. The massive Vietnamese assault in the fall of 1985 succeeded in driving the resistance groups from their strongholds in Kampuchea along the Thai-Kampuchean border. While political analysts at the time thought the chances of the resistance groups surviving were slim, they have emerged in a position of strength using a variety of guerilla tactics.

So far, this tactic has succeeded in holding Hanoi's forces at bay. The last two seasons have seen the resistance groups assume the initiative. Their numbers have increased and they have gained greater support from the Kampuchean people. Resentment of the Vietnamese has grown as the war has dragged on and as the Vietnamese, once viewed as liberators from the genocidal Pol Pot regime of the Khmer Rouge, are now perceived as a new repressive regime bent only on expansionism. About 700,000 Vietnamese now have emigrated to Kampuchea. For much of 1986, Vietnam prepared for a massive dry-seasonal offensive in 1987. It remains to be seen if the three resistance groups can keep the Vietnam force at bay.

The refugee problem as a consequence of the Kampuchean situation has caused 210,000 Kampucheans to flee the country through the course of the war, according to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Approximately 170,000 left the country as a result of the Vietnamese border offensive against the guerillas 2 years ago. Several refugee camps in Kampuchea will close down in 1987 as the flood of refugees has slowed and the drama of the Kampuchean conflict has subsided in the eyes of many, especially the Thai government, which announced its decision to shut down several camps, including the largest, Khao I-Dang, in early 1987.

International condemnation of Vietnam's actions has also grown. The three resistance groups are politically consolidated as the **Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea** (**CGDK**), and it has received recognition as the legitimate government-in-exile over the Hanoi appointed **People's Republic of Kampuchea** (**PRK**) government under Heng Samrin. The CGDK is loosely unified under titular president Norodom Sihanouk, who is more of a figurehead than the actual leader of the coalition, although he is well respected abroad and in Kampuchea. Underlying dissention and internal strife has typified the CGDK, despite improved coordination of military activities over the course of the year. The Khmer Rouge has continued to bully the other two factions into compliance of its objectives. Through the course of the war, military assistance has come mainly from neighboring countries of Thailand and Singapore, and CIA cash grants of 5 million a year. In 1986, the US Congress agreed to appropriate $5 million in overt military aid to the pro-Western Kampuchean forces.

A negotiated settlement seems remote and distant at this point. Diplomatic contacts between Hanoi and ASEAN have brought little progress in producing a lasting peace. In 1985, Vietnamese premier Pham Van Dong made several vocal overtures for peace, claiming Vietnam would unconditionally withdraw its troops from Kampuchea by 1990—sooner if a negotiated agreement could be reached. This voiced willingness led to a series of frequent behind-the-scenes diplomatic peace talks with ASEAN in 1985 and 1986. In April 1986, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach met with Thai Foreign Minister Siddhi in Bangkok, the first such meeting in three years. Foreign Minister Mochtar Kasumaatmadja of Indonesia, the appointed spokesman for ASEAN on the Kampuchean conflict, has maintained an open dialogue with Hanoi for some time. Vietnam has proposed direct talks with ASEAN and has suggested there be an international convention which would include both the superpowers and non-aligned India. It has also promoted direct talks between the Heng Samrin regime in power and the coalition Sihanouk and Son Sann factions to the exclusion of the Khmer Rouge.

Vietnam's overtures have been met skeptically by ASEAN, the US, and China, and are seen as a ploy to fragment the CGDK and also its allies. ASEAN counterproposals this year called for comprehensive talks between Vietnam and the CGDK, with the Heng Samrin region being included as part of the Vietnamese delegation. The eight point proposal put forward in March 1986 in Peking by the CGDK called for direct negotiations between itself and Vietnam. The eight point plan suggested a comprehensive coalition government which would include the PRK as part of the new government. The plan also called for a two phase withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. Hanoi would initially withdraw all its forces to be followed by negotiations between the PRK and the CGDK during the cease fire. International conventions would be drafted concurrently to address other areas of the dispute. China, the United States, and ASEAN favored the proposal when it appeared before the General Assembly in March 1986, but Vietnam rejected the proposal outright and continued to do so.

The peace and stability of the Philippines is also a priority on the regional agenda. The remarkable chain of events which began with deposed President Ferdinand Marcos calling for snap elections on November 3, 1985; followed by a military uprising and people's revolt February 22–25, 1986; led to the establishment of a new coalition government under President Corazon Aquino, and the downfall of a regime regarded by many as corrupt and oppressive. The enormous crest of popularity which carried President Aquino to victory was heralded by many Western observers as a new dawn for democracy, as she was the first Filipino president to be freely elected apart from Marcos who had managed to remain in power for 20 years essentially through the use of corruption and extortion over the Philippine people.

The pro-Western democracies in the region would like to see the Aquino government succeed. ASEAN nations, Japan, and especially the United

States have been extremely vocal in their support for the new Filipino government. Especially for the United States, which claims some responsibility for mid-wifing the peaceful birth of this government, and whose long history of close relations with the Philippines is another factor, the success of the Aquino government is all the more crucial, as it is an example to the rest of the world that democracy can still flourish and US foreign policy is not defunct in this day and age.

It will not be easy. The Aquino government inherited a legacy of political corruption, economic stagnation, and internal instability from the Marcos years. The Aquino government and the Western governments which support her, implicity realize that success hinges on three crucial areas:

Firstly, President Aquino must revitalize an economy gone sour. Once productive, the Filipino economy has stagnated from years of monopolistic exploitation and poor economic planning by the Marcos government. Monopolies long held by Marcos cronies stifled growth in the commodities sector, especially in sugar, coconuts, and grain. The rejuvenation of agriculture is crucial. Government interference also hurt economic development in key industrial sectors. Over 33 state corporations were set up during the 20 years of Marcos rule, which stifled private enterprise, productivity, and entrepreneurship. The GNP of the economy dropped 10% in the last two years of the Marcos regime, and initially the new Aquino government had to cope with a $27 billion debt.

Secondly, the Aquino government must deal with the question of the Philippines' internal security. Many insurgent groups arose during the corruption of the Marcos years. The largest revolutionary group capable of seriously jeopardizing the stability of the coalition government at this point is the Communist Party of the Philippines, currently estimated at 30,000. The Communist Party has waged an escalating guerilla war with its armed wing, the New People's Army (NPA), believed to be numbered at above 20,000, against the Filipino national army for several years now. The Aquino government must ultimately deal with the Communist insurgents if it is to succeed in bringing peace to this troubled land, through either negotiation or military confrontation.

Lastly, the Aquino government must consolidate its power. Internal factionalism is as inherently capable of toppling this fledgling government as are leftist insurgents. Marcos cronies have presented a problem over the last year. An especially serious threat to the stability of the administration has been the growing rift between the military and Aquino over her policies concerning reform in the army, and her dealings with the Communist rebels which are viewed by military objectors as being too "weak" or "lenient." Power must be firmly in the hands of the Aquino government before any sweeping political or economic reforms can be made.

The third agenda item deals with the economic development of the region. Forecasts for enormous exponential growth in the region, especially for the economies of Japan, the "Four Little Dragons," may have been premature

and overly optimistic. Serious problems have complicated the idea that unparalled prosperity in the region would be ushered in, pulled by the success of Japan and China in the future.

There has been a slowdown of economic growth for the region in the 1980s, and the possibility of a continued slowdown is a very real danger, caused in part by the internal protectionist policies of several Newly Developed Countries (NDC's—i.e. Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, etc.) and Newly Industrialized Countries (NIC's—i.e. South Korea and Singapore). Especially problematic have been the external forces of the world market, in the forms of severe trade wars and protectionism, which could cripple much of East Asia's progress and development into a flourishing and stable region.

The decline of commodity prices and the escalation of competition in industrial and high-tech production have been large reasons for the rise of protectionism on the world market. For the industrialized nations of East Asia, protectionist sentiment rising in the United States has been particularly alarming, as the United States has been Asia's primary export for sale of their goods in textiles, automobiles, computers, audio-visual equipment, steel, and industrial hardware. For East Asia's commodity exporting NDCs, the lowered global prices, and increasing protectionism displayed by the US, the Japanese, and the European Economic Community (EEC) have hit them hard.

Recent attempts to ease this trade problem give reason for guarded optimism. The September 1985 Group of Five's meeting (G5)—the countries controlling the World Bank and the IMF—and their decision to reduce the dollar's value, and stimulate the US economy (while reducing its enormous trade deficit), appears to be moderately working. If the US economy picks up, US-Asian trade could rise. The appreciation of the yen in 1986 as a direct result of the September 1985 agreement, has stimulated Japanese overseas investment and demand for imports as the Japanese are forced to utilize their enormous capital surplus because of lowered exports of Japanese goods.

East Asian leaders are sensitive to the trade problem. Protectionism cuts both ways as a double-edged sword hurting the developing countries by reducing exports and the repayment of debts, while also hurting the solid development of industrialized countries. Barriers, therefore, to America would only hurt the development of freely-market-oriented economies and in turn, initiate the self-destructive and downward spiral of the world economy.

The United Nations and East Asian Affairs

East Asian political interaction in the United Nations generally is reflective of the pro-Western and pro-Eastern affiliations outside. Ideological positions are similar to those of either the Soviet Union or the United States. China

maintains a friendly posture toward the United States, but its motives are uniquely its own. Voting generally reflects such divisions in the UN.

Of prime importance in the United Nations has been the Kampuchean conflict. Voting, in the forty-first General Assembly on resolution GA/41/6, condemned the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea. It was adopted by a vote of 115 in favor, 21 against, and 13 abstentions. Behind the scenes, ASEAN foreign ministers have been active in isolating Vietnam politically and economically, and keeping world opinion against Vietnam over Kampuchea. ASEAN foreign ministers have periodically met with their Vietnamese counterpart at the UN since the beginning of the conflict, and 1986 was no exception. However, the objective of persuading Vietnam to withdraw from Kampuchea and change its goals did not materialize.

The Secretary General's 1986 report on the situation in Kampuchea once more called for a peaceful solution, directly negotiated between the parties of the conflict, or through the Secretary General's special representative for Kampuchea. He also reported that $1,000,000,000 in voluntary contributions over the last 8 years was used to resettle 175,000 Kampucheans seeking asylum in Thailand. The United Nations Border Relief Organization (UNBRO) has worked alongside other international relief organizations in relocating refugees over 18 months from 1985–1986, in addition to improving their health facilities and general health, nutrition, and social welfare.

The ability of UNBRO to work so close to the border and to the scene of the conflict reflects the East Asian countries' unwavering faith in the UN to unequivocally provide impartial assistance to nations in need. Therefore, the UN's willingness to respond to the universal need for development and assistance, has made UN programs welcome among the nations in the East Asian region.

South Asia

South Asia has become one of the most troubled regions in the world. The nations of this region include Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. The topography includes the famous Himalayan Mountains to the north, fertile soil in the Indo Gangetic plain and the rich waters of the Arabian Sea, Bay of Bengal, and the Indian Ocean to the south that surround the region.

India is the largest of these Asian countries. It was one of the first British colonies to receive independence after World War II, becoming the most populated democracy in the world. India, from the outset, has adamantly opposed being classified as a member of either camp of the superpowers. It has enjoyed cordial relations with both the US and the USSR. However, Indian relationship with China has not fared as well. Border disputes along

the 2,000 kilometers of the Sino-Indian boundary and a territorial claim against China over 14,500 square miles in the Aksai Chin area of eastern Kashmir have left relations cool.

Pakistan separated from India soon after Indian independence in 1947. Even though both countries are members of the British Commonwealth, the partition was violent as masses of people moved from Pakistani territory to Indian and vice-versa. Hindus in Pakistan were not safe because of the Muslim majority in that country; likewise Muslims in India were threatened by the Hindu majority there. At independence, Pakistan had two provinces—East and West Pakistan. However, in December of 1971, a political crisis in East Pakistan precipitated a wave of millions of Bengali refugees fleeing to India from the impending conflict between India and Pakistan. The brief clash ended with a negotiated ceasefire between military forces on the West Pakistani-Indian border and the granting of independence to East Pakistan which then became Bangladesh.

Pakistan has a long-standing and friendly relationship with the US based on a common anti-communist stance vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and its Soviet controlled neighbor Afghanistan. In 1954, Pakistan and the US signed a mutual defense agreement. Pakistan has long been at odds with Afghanistan over the latter's attempts to create an independent "Pushtunistan" out of a major section of Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province. The relationship became even more tense when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 to bolster the beleaguered Babrak Karmal regime which it had installed several years prior. After eight years of backing Afghan rebels (the Mujaheddin) with weapons and supplies, Pakistan is meeting with Afghanistan and Soviet officials under UN auspices to seek a solution to the conflict. In 1986, the Soviets announced a plan to unilaterally withdraw its troops over six-months. However, there has been little movement toward fulfilling this plan and talks continue.

Pakistan, in contrast to India, has come under increasing attack from other nations in the Developing World over its alleged push to develop a nuclear weapon. In early 1987, even the US gave warning to Pakistan about this issue in an effort to dissuade development of a Pakistan bomb.

Bangladesh exhibited natural ties of geography, culture, and commerce with India, and in March 1972 the two countries signed a 25-year treaty of friendship, cooperation, and peace. Relations with Pakistan, initially characterized by mutual suspicion, slowly improved, with Islamabad accordingly recognizing Bangladesh in February 1974. Both states have become active participants in the Islamic Conference, and on 11 August 1983, Pakistan Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yakub Khan paid a visit to Dhaka, the first official visit by a Pakistani foreign minister since independent was achieved.

The Soviet Union initially enjoyed cordial relations with Bangladesh because of Moscow's diplomatic support of India in the 1971 Indo-Pakistani war and subsequent tenders of economic and military aid. But in 1979–

1980, Dhaka's opposition to the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea and to the Soviet incursion in Afghanistan resulted in a cooling of relations. The People's Republic of China never recognized the Mujibur Rahman regime and, because of its close ties to Pakistan, frustrated Bangladesh's efforts to enter the United Nations until 1974. However, relations improved considerably in the late 1970s with a series of trade and cooperation accords being concluded in March and May 1980.

Sri Lanka, an island off the southeastern coast of India, was also granted independence in 1947 by the British. This small island nation continues to have frequent clashes with India over a series of territorial and political issues. Conflicting claims to Kachativu Island in the Palk Strait, which separates the two countries, were resolved in 1974. India yielded its claims and Sri Lanka agreed to permit Indian fishermen and pilgrims access to the island without need for travel documents or visas. The Palk Strait accord was supplemented in March 1976, by a more general agreement on maritime economic zones.

Yet, present relations between India and Sri Lanka continue to be unstable. Most recently, Tamil separatists in the North of the island have stepped up their activities resulting in thousands of deaths as government forces have been reinforced and responding to the guerillas. Support to the Tamils from India's State of Tamil Nadu exasperates this violent situation. The ethnic violence between the Tamils and Sinhalese populations is bordering on a civil war and poses additional national security concerns with the possibility of Indian intervention on the side of the Tamils.

South Asia has not only experienced turmoil politically, it is also in grave condition economically. The periodic conflicts have resulted in the dislocation of many from their homes. Bangladesh being the hardest hit by both war and natural disasters continues to teeter near catastrophe. The thousands of refugees in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and India exacerbate problems of an already troubled region.

The first ever summit-level meeting of seven of the South Asian countries was held in Dhaka, Bangladesh, in December 1985. The summit formally launched the **South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC).** It is an institution geared to the promotion of functional cooperation in a number of specific areas. As a high-level political forum for the region, SAARC marks a step forward towards stabilizing this very volatile group of nations.

In addition to the SAARC, there is also the **Colombo Plan.** Set up by members of the British Government, it is a regional agreement for technical assistance that was started by the British Commonwealth, but from the first it has welcomed other non-communist Asian countries. The Colombo Plan works in cooperation with the United States aid programs and technical assistance from the United Nations. In economic problems, as well as in those of collective security, many Asian countries are struggling with conditions that invite aggression and that can be corrected only by long-term and consistent economic and political development.

South Asia and the UN

For South Asia, the situation in Afghanistan is of critical importance. Because many Afghan refugees seek asylum in the region (Pakistan, in particular), and because Afghanistan is perceived by South Asian states as a possible area of superpower confrontation, these states desire a resolution to the Afghanistan problem. With the exception of India, they call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan, the return of Afghan refugees to their homeland in honor and dignity, and the participation of all Afghans in determining their future free from outside interference or intervention. For most nations of South Asia, at issue is every peoples' right to self-determination. This issue is particularly important to the region as South Asia was once largely under colonial rule.

The situation in Kampuchea is another part of the same policy concern. Just as in the case of Afghanistan, South Asian nations, except India, demand the withdrawal of foreign troops and support the right of the Kampuchean people to choose their own government.

The South Asian view of the problems in Southern Africa and in the Middle East is closely related to the sovereignty issue raised by the problems in Afghanistan. South Asian nations demand that the Palestinian people be granted the right to self-determination, including the right to national self-determination in a homeland. They support the right to exist in safety of all nations in the area, including Israel. They also call for the withdrawal of Israel from territories taken after 1967.

Similarly, the struggle of the Namibian and South Africa people to be free is supported. Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) are considered the acceptable basis for the resolution of the Namibian problem. Comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions are deemed the best mechanism for inducing change in South Africa, a change toward democratic, majority rule and the realization of the right to self-determination of all South Africans.

The second policy area of major interest to South Asia is the nuclear arms race. The nations of the region believe that disarmament is fundamental to the survival of all nations, and thus urgently needed. They perceive a particular need for vertical disarmament, viewing the massive nuclear arsenals of the superpowers as a tremendous threat to mankind. South Asian nations therefore call for bans on the testing of nuclear weapons and on their deployment in outer space. They also support halting deployment of new weapons and reducing existing arsenals. There is, in addition, general support for horizontal disarmament. However, on the issue of the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Indian Ocean region, a consensus is more difficult to discern. Most nations in the region support such a proposal. However, India, the only nuclear power in South Asia, has not yet agreed to relinquish its nuclear capability. Furthermore, although Pakistan has expressed support for a nuclear-free zone in the Indian Ocean area, there

is speculation which alleges the development of a Pakistani nuclear capability. Thus, the disarmament issue continues to be complicated, but an impetus for complete disarmament does seem to be present.

The last, and perhaps most critical area of concern to South Asia is the economics of development. For the nations of South Asia, the evolution of a more equitable world economic infrastructure is perhaps the most fundamental policy objective. Trade restrictions, deteriorating commodity prices, high interest rates, and decreased or restricted capital flows have, according to these nations, caused the tremendous poverty seen in parts of South Asia. The instability of the world economy causes considerable concern; the effects are particularly severe for developing countries, as they have no means with which to adapt to economic fluctuations. South Asia perceives the problem to be due, in part, to the colonial legacy, as well as to short-sighted and self-interested policies of developed nations. South Asian nations are unanimous in their support of measures to change the world economy by strengthening cooperation between developed and developing countries, as well as among developing countries. They believe that the United Nations can and should assist such cooperation.

The South Pacific

The South Pacific Region, bordering south to South East Asia, seems to be not much more than a large body of water interspersed with some islands and a few larger masses of land, i.e. Australia, New Zealand, and Papua New Guinea/Indonesia. These remote places "down under" have come only recently to the greater attention of the world, when in 1985 New Zealand's Prime Minister David Lange declared that no ships with nuclear weaponry aboard will be allowed into its territorial waters. The defense alliance between Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, signed at the height of the Cold War in 1951, was strained and is suspended for the time being and will be resumed when the matter is solved among the partners.

Further developments for a South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone, incorporating the whole region and initiated in 1983 by Australia's Prime Minister Robert Hawke, have contributed to increasing attention to the area by military strategists in the US and the USSR. The Nuclear Free Zone has also received considerable attention by Peace and Anti-War Movements around the world, as a model for similar implementations of nuclear free zones elsewhere. More recently, a bloodless military coup in Fiji, initiated by the Fijian military, brought the region into the headlines. Unrest in New Caledonia, where the native Kanak are driving for the country's independence from France, has come to the attention of the UN. The issue will be on the agenda in the 42nd Session of the General Assembly.

Australia, with almost 3 million square miles and close to 16 million citizens, by far the largest and most dominant of the countries in this region, is part of the British Commonwealth of Nations and has close cultural ties to Great Britain. As a former penal colony, however, this relationship is not without prejudices and animosities. With a full-fledged industry comprised of not only agricultural, meat, and fishing industries, but industrial production of iron, steel, electrical equipment, automobiles, and machinery, Australia has enjoyed a reasonably balanced trade. Its major trading partners are the US, Japan, the United Kingdom, Federal Republic of Germany, and in the region, New Zealand. Consumer products distribution, literacy, and medical facilities are similar to the standards of Western Europe and North America.

An original member of the United Nations, Australia has contributed from its military to UN Peace Keeping Forces. "Aussie" troops were actively engaged in both World Wars and were part of the first military contingent in the Korean War. Besides working in the UN and its specialized agencies, Australia is a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OEDC), ANZUS, and the South Pacific Forum.

New Zealand, the smallest partner in the ANZUS Pact, is the most diplomatically active and innovative of the South Pacific nations. In early 1970, New Zealand brought France to the International Court of Justice (Australia also sued France on the same issue), for its persistent nuclear testing on the Muruoa Atoll. As a result, France terminated its agreement to Article 36 of the Statute of the ICJ. New Zealand's stand on nuclear issues hardened when French secret agents sunk the Greenpeace ship "Rainbow Warrior" killing a photographer. Like Australia, it is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and enjoys close cultural ties with Great Britain. Being somewhat more ethnically diverse than its bigger neighbor, this country of less than 3.5 million citizens has a Polynesian population (mostly Maori) of around nine percent. Its industry is less developed and agricultural production, sheep industry, forestry, and fishing are, in addition to some mineral resources, New Zealand's greatest assets on its 103,000 square miles of land. These provide enough exportable goods to account for a balanced trade. Standard of living and medical facilities are, at least among the caucasian population, similar to Australia's.

New Zealand was a founding member of the UN working closely with its specialized agencies and has conscripted troops for both World Wars and UN Peace Keeping Forces. The country is a member of OECD, British Commonwealth of Nations, and the South Pacific Forum.

Papua New Guinea, the third largest of the independent nations in the region, occupies the eastern half of the island of New Guinea (the western half being part of Indonesia). Almost twice as large as New Zealand, the nation has approximately the same number of citizens. Papua New Guinea is ethnically the most diverse country in this area with Papuans, Melanesians,

pygmies, and a minority of Chinese, Australians, and Polynesians. In contrast to its two larger neighbors to the south and the southeast, Papua's industry is hardly developed. Industrial products from Australia, Japan, and Singapore are imported and, amounting to less monetary value, coffee, cacao, fish, and coconuts are exported to Japan, the F.R. of Germany, and Australia. Life expectancy is 20 to 26 years less than that of the industrialized western countries, and only 25 percent of the population are literate. The huge number of indigenous tribes, many living in almost complete isolation with mutually unintelligible languages, poses a problem to Papua New Guinea's indentity as a nation. Until September 16, 1975, it was, under a UN Trusteeship, administered by Australia. Hardly four weeks after it became independent, the nation became, on October 10, 1975, a member of the UN. Papua New Guinea is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the South Pacific Forum.

The **South Pacific Forum**, formed in 1971, is the political as well as the economic body that provides a voice for the small Pacific island nations and affords a meeting-ground for economic and political disputes and consensus-forming. Aside from the already mentioned larger nations, its membership is composed of the political leaders of twelve countries and territories: Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Niue, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, Western Samoa, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Republic of the Marshall Islands. Of these twelve only Fiji, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa are members of the UN.

This is not surprising, considering that countries like Nauru with only 8,000 citizens who live on 8 square miles (less than half the size of Manhattan) are microstates with hardly enough resources to provide for a permanent mission at the UN. Most of these countries, after a time as a UN Trusteeship or as Colonies, became independent only in the late '60s and '70s. Most of the microstates are poor and only their natural barriers as islands help them to sustain a subsistence economy. With a developed infrastructure for trade possibilities, these countries are being depleted of whatever resources they may have had. Even Nauru, through its phosphate mining blessed with one of the world's highest per capita incomes ($21,000), will not fare better, when its mines will be exhausted in the 1990s.

Malnutrition on islands is common in this area which we all too readily see as the epitome of paradise. When, for example, in December 1986, New Zealand relaxed its visa rules, five percent of the population of Tonga boarded ships and planes over the next few months. This not only put a strain on the available work-force on that island, but constituted a considerable brain-drain. Niue, with only 2,500 citizens, looses in this fashion more than 4 percent of its population.

The South Pacific Forum, with its secretariat, the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation, based in Suva, Fiji, helps to alleviate the persistent imbalance of wealth, but was not able to rectify the worsening balance of trade between the island nations on the one side and Australia, New Zea-

land, and the rest of the industrialized nations on the other side. The Forum is, however, on behalf of all nations, quite outspoken in areas of foreign policy and has taken a vigorous stand on the nuclear issue.

On August 28, 1984 in Rarotonga, Cook Islands, the Forum decided to set up a working group to examine the crucial legal and other issues involved in setting up a Nuclear Free Zone in that area. The closing statement mentioned that "there should be no use, testing or stationing of nuclear explosive devices in the South Pacific; no South Pacific country should develop or manufacture, or receive from others, or acquire, or test any nuclear explosive device." Aside from the countries' concern with being the target of a nuclear attack in case of an all-out war between the US and the USSR, the statement was directed against the persistent testing of such devices by the French on the Mururoa Atoll.

Australia has so far not banned the entry of US nuclear-armed ships. It has joint military exercises with nuclear-capable allies and exports its uranium ore for peaceful purposes under the UN's IAEA safeguards. New Zealand, with the termination of visits of US nuclear warships, has pursued a neutral or even non-aligned foreign policy and has declared itself unequivocally nuclear free. Plans for a closer defense relationship with Australia and the other nations in the area are being pursued. Fiji and Papua New Guinea, however, have parted with New Zealand on the issue and have allowed US warships to enter their waters.

In the General Assembly of the United Nations, South Pacific member countries have supported self-determination of nations still part of other countries or under a trusteeship. Their interest is quite often grounded in their own experience of being dominated by foreign powers. But it is also a reaction to the unequal terms of trade which exploit the microstates not only of resources but also of educated members of the work-force. The increasing trade in the Pacific Basin has so far by-passed the small nations, and only Australia and New Zealand draw some advantage.

The issue of the independence of New Caledonia is of great importance to the South Pacific nations. The native Kanak started a drive for independence in the early years of this decade. Social unrest and a not very gentle reaction of the French police and military forces was the result. Additional military and police forces were stationed on the islands. A referendum on interdependence with France is scheduled for September 1987. But with voting rights given to French troops and officers temporarily stationed in New Caledonia, the Kanak are already a minority.

The independent nations in the area do, however, not only support independence of New Caledonia, but also for all other nations still under trusteeship or colonial rule. The General Assembly adopted in October 1986, by consensus vote, "to reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of Pitcarin to self-determination in conformity with the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and people."

All nations in the South Pacific call for speedy and effective disarmament

and hope for further and constructive talks between the leaders of the two superpowers-United States and USSR. They support the UN's drive for the ending of the *apartheid* regime in South Africa and for a free and peaceful Namibia. They deplore terrorism, illegal drug trafficking, and strongly support the United Nations.

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EASTERN EUROPE AND THE USSR

Eastern Europe is a region diverse in its geographical and cultural settings, though less so in its political or economic schools of thought. For the most part, it is a cohesive, integrated region. The political ideologies of the nations in the area are similar, but upon closer examination, tend to produce differing internal effects. Noting these congruities facilitates the study of this significant region.

Eastern Europe is comprised of the Soviet Union (west of the Ural Mountains), its communist satellites—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic (East Germany), Hungary, Poland and Romania—and the unaligned communist nations of Albania and Yugoslavia. In the west, the region borders Finland, Denmark, West Germany, Austria and Italy. This border has been termed the "Iron Curtain." Eastern Europe encompasses the Carpathian Mountains, the Danube, Dnepr, Oder, Vistula and Volga rivers. It borders on the Ural and Caucasus Mountains, and the Adriatic, Baltic, Black and Caspian Seas.

Though the European continent was split preceding World War II, divided sides have managed to develop independently. Understandably, the line separating east from west has become an important political, ideological and economic boundary.

Regional Organizations

Regional organizations are a central part of the Eastern European system and aid its coordination. The **Warsaw Pact,** established as a treaty of mutual-aid, was developed in response to the Paris Agreement of 1954 which advanced the idea of a rearmed Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This had a destabilizing effect on Europe's balance of power and necessitated an East European response. The Warsaw Pact was signed in 1955 by Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union. The Warsaw Pact provides for the security of all its members. Should one be attacked, all

others are committed to furnish military assistance. Indeed, a unified military high command was established and has been maintained under the leadership of a Soviet marshal since 1955. In 1983, the Warsaw Pact had 79 divisions with 46,000 tanks and 9,900 aircraft. This represents roughly twice as many tanks and planes as its NATO counterpart.

Though the Pact calls for "mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, and non-interference in the internal affairs of each member," the Soviets carry much influence in the organization. For example, Soviet-born officers hold key posts in most East European forces. The Warsaw Pact also calls upon the members of the organization to consult on all international questions affecting their mutual interests and to develop close economic and cultural ties.

The **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance** (**COMECON**) was established in 1949 to aid in the economic cooperation of communist states. Its original members included Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Ro-

mania and the Soviet Union. Albania discontinued their participation after 1961 and Romania has been somewhat resistant to further integration.

The inclusion of Mongolia, Cuba and Vietnam has given the organization an increased international focus in recent years. Yugoslavia became an associate member in 1964 and other countries with close economic ties to Eastern Europe have been granted observer status.

In its early years, COMECON concentrated on consolidating. During the 1960s under Soviet hegemony, the organization attempted to augment intra-regional dependence by increasing supranational planning and encouraging specialization among its members. Resistance from Romania, and later Hungary and the GDR, have slowed these efforts. Most recently the Soviet Union has encouraged COMECON members to adopt internal reforms to curb low productivity and the declining quality of goods. The Soviet Union hopes to inspire its satellites toward market economy efficiency without changing the highly centralized Eastern European economic structure.

Inter-National Organizations

Four of the nine countries in Eastern Europe were charter members of the United Nations which came into existence in 1945. These included Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania joined the UN in 1955 and the GDR became a member in 1973 along with the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). With the exception of Albania and Yugoslavia, these countries voted and continue to vote as a bloc.

Today this remains particularly true on important issues directly concerning superpower behavior, or moral issues which could set a precedent for criticism of Soviet actions. In 1986, for example, instances of bloc voting included resolutions condemning the Kampuchean intervention, the Afghanistan intervention, human rights abuses in Afghanistan, human right abuses in Iran, the acceptance of Israeli credentials as a delegation, a US resolution banning chemical weapons, and critiques of US policy in Namibia, the Middle East, and Nicaragua. On all of these issues the Eastern European countries voted with the Soviet Union, negatively on the first six and positively on the last three. Although Yugoslavia and Albania tended to vote with the others in condemnation of US policy, they were not afraid to be openly critical of Soviet actions as well: both censured the invasion of Afghanistan, while Yugoslavia further decried the Kampuchean intervention and Albania disparaged the violation of human rights in Afghanistan. Yugoslavia abstained on both human rights issues. Romania has always been something of a maverick, proving that it is indeed possible to defy the Soviets with relative impunity; in this instance, she voted to accept Israeli credentials in the General Assembly and the US ban on chemical weapons. It should be noted, however, that these were lesser issues as far as the Soviets were concerned and

although intended to regain lost economic favor with the US, they actually had little impact toward this end. On areas of major disagreement with the Soviets, such as the question of human right violations in Iran, a satellite is more likely to absent itself than to abstain, thus somewhat conserving appearances. Also often overlooked is the fact that on subcommittees the Eastern Europeans initiate proposals and express their views.

In the early years, the diplomats of the Soviet Union and its allies were not as adept as the Western diplomats at working within a framework where all members had a voice. Indeed, the United Nations Charter established a system based upon the American governmental structure. Consequently, the Eastern European countries repeatedly attempted to thwart the internal workings of the UN. This is exemplified by the Soviet's very frequent use of the veto within the Security Council during this time.

The Cold War period with its accompanying rise in international tension had a profound effect upon the United Nations. In 1950, Soviet-backed North Korea invaded US-supported South Korea. At this time the Soviets were not participating in UN activities, in protest of the UN's non-recognition of the People's Republic of China. This left the Security Council free to pass a resolution urging its members to defend South Korea.

The US and the Soviet Union also collided on the issue of Chinese admission to the UN. Not until 1971 did the resolution pass allowing the representative of the People's Republic of China to be seated. These cases illustrate the influence of the Western nations for the first 20 years of the UN's existence.

This period lasted until the late 1960s or early 1970s when a proliferation in UN membership shifted power from the Western nations to the many newly independent Third World countries. The **Non-Aligned Movement** became a force to be contended with. Today countries representing as little as 15% of the world's population comprise a majority in the General Assembly under the one country, one vote system. These countries, having recently been freed from colonial rule were necessarily nationalistic. The predominant feeling was that the colonial powers were exploitative. These developments were advantageous to the Soviets who used their Eastern European allies to court the Third World with promises of military and economic assistance. Third World leaders who had gained legitimacy by denouncing the West were all too ready to establish political ties with the communist bloc in exchange for much-needed developmental assistance. In this manner, the Soviet Union was able to develop a stronger position in the United Nations that it had not previously had.

Each Eastern European nation participates to a differing degree in the UN specialized agencies. Only Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia have been accepted by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The United States and other economically powerful Western countries play the dominant role in determining the policies of these organizations and, as a result, have an influence on the economies of these countries. Albania, the

GDR, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union are involved with the International Atomic Energy Agency which regulates the use of nuclear energy and monitors each country's spent fuel rods. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia are the sole Eastern European members of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Yugoslavia, seeking to separate itself from military ties to either superpower, was a co-founder of the Non-Aligned Movement, another international organization. It firmly rejects Soviet attempts to sway the organization toward its bloc and strongly criticizes Soviet "hegemonism." This is in keeping with traditional opposition to foreign domination. The Non-Alignment Movement is the base of Yugoslav foreign policy and the Yugoslavs have led the organization to an effective international political force, promoting such issues as disarmament and the improvement of North-South relations.

Political Agenda

Under the leadership of recently elected General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, both the tone and emphasis of Soviet internal, regional and foreign policy have changed dramatically. Understandably, this has repercussions on policy in the Eastern bloc, regardless of whether or not these leaders want to follow the Soviet lead, due to their economic and political dependence on Moscow. The primary impetus for these changes appears to be the state of the Soviet economy. The Soviet economic system is strained by low labor productivity (estimated at 40% of the US level), complacency, absenteeism, and alcoholism. In addition, poor communication between central planners and local production plants means frequent misallocation of resources and slow response to technological change. Because the Soviet Union is the world's largest producer of oil, the decrease in oil prices on the one hand combined with the need to import 60% of their wheat on the other has left the country with a diminished supply of the hard-currency needed to import industrial technology and improve industrial output. Furthermore, continuing support to its military divisions in Afghanistan as well as supplying the defense needs of Soviet allies have put a staggering drain on capital.

The weak economic situation, combined with Soviet realization that the Western capitalist powers are and continue to be effective has prompted Gorbachev to strive for a mutual understanding with the United States. Though no significant new policies have been introduced, the Soviet leader exhibits a lighter touch than his predecessors when dealing with the West. Gorbachev has actively pursued arms negotiations. He essentially conceded to President Reagan's demand that the US Strategic Defense Initiative not be linked to arms reduction talks. Only after bi-lateral arms agreements can military spending safely be reduced. This reduction is essential for the rejuvenation of the Soviet economy and explains the new-found urgency that propels the Soviets toward negotiations.

At the Soviet Communist Party Congress in 1986, Gorbachev initiated the changes that have since characterized his political position. Conspicuously missing was talk of a World Communist Order or a praising of past leaders. Indeed, Gorbachev indirectly blamed the Soviet Union's current problems on former General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev. The present leader blamed the inadequacies of the economy on the inefficiency and corruption that had been tolerated in the Brezhnev era. He called for increased professionalism and efficiency in the workplace. Better labor discipline and the creation of incentives would allow the Soviet Union to produce higher quality goods. In turn, it would be in a position to demand better goods from its Eastern European trade partners. Gorbachev emphasized that these measures did not constitute a change of economic systems but rather an improvement in the existing one.

Gorbachev also succeeded in replacing a number of older Communist Party leaders with younger ones loyal to him. This could facilitate the implementation of the reforms he proposes although he still faces significant opposition from military hard-liners. Western analysts are skeptical as to the success his proposals will have. They note that Gorbachev is asking for reforms without instituting any real changes. The workers are expected to sacrifice to improve the economy without realizing any benefits. The resulting lowered standard of living is not likely to improve the economic health of the Soviet Union until the 21st century. Some of the Eastern bloc countries wonder about the applicability of economic reforms to their substantially smaller economies.

Bulgaria had long been considered the staunchest ally of the Soviet Union, and its aging General Secretary, Todor Zhivkov, was a close friend of Brezhnev. However, relations between Gorbachev and Zhivkov have been strained. Zhivkov has led Bulgaria since 1961 and, to Gorbachev, represents inefficiency. Bulgaria's economic performance has been dismal in recent years and Zhivkov's recent attempts to improve it have been unbalanced and largely ineffective. A technology lag still dampens progress though Zhivkov has reduced central planning and streamlined the government. The Soviets continue to pressure the Bulgarians to improve the quality of their exports. Bulgaria's political alignment and foreign policy closely follow the Soviet lead. In 1986 at Moscow's request, Bulgaria called for the establishment of a **European Nuclear Free Zone.**

While Poland and Hungary, with long traditions of more liberal economies, favor Gorbachev's reforms, the other four countries, whose leaders have been entrenched for decades, fear the threat to their power that *glastnost* and economic decentralization could bring. This danger of activating pent up dissident energy by introducing reforms is far greater in Eastern Europe than in the Soviet Union, since the East Europeans have lived under the yoke of communism for a shorter time and are culturally more similar to the West Europeans than to the Soviets. The satellite leaders, with the exception of Poland's Jaruzelski, all in their late sixties and seventies, had strongly

supported Brezhnev; to now denounce his economic and political system would be tantamount to undermining their own basis for leadership. Consequently, the party leaders of Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Romania, and Bulgaria balk at the idea of reform. They also remember how Krushchev and his supporters were deposed after introducing reform policies contrary to Stalin's idea of government, and are thus hesitant to follow Gorbachev's lead until they are sure his power is secure.

Gorbachev holds at least two cards which may encourage reform: the Soviet Union may withhold energy supplies as well as raw materials if the other members of COMECON do not increase the quantity and quality of machines and consumer goods traded to the USSR. In addition, while Gorbachev is not likely to stage a military coup to replace leaders or force them to comply, as had happened in Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in 1981, he can replace the leaders with his own favorites when they die of natural causes in the near future. Furthermore, Gorbachev enjoys broad support among the masses of these countries while their leaders do not, so that reforms may have to be conceded to quell social unrest. On the other hand, Gorbachev has not suggested removing Soviet troops from Eastern European allies or endorsing more trade with the West as they are eager to do.

In Poland there is a new youth dissident movement of draft resisters, in addition to rebellious Solidarity members and devout Catholics. Similar resistance exists on a smaller scale in other satellites. Romania has always refused to allow Soviet troops on its territory, has allowed Jewish emigration, and in 1985, when the Warsaw Pact was due to be renewed for another twenty years, recommended that it only be extended for five years. Romania also frequently dissents from the Soviet position in the UN. Poland and Hungary both allow more freedom of speech and some degree of private enterprise, while Hungary also tolerates greater freedom of the arts. One may conclude that each of these Eastern bloc countries is highly nationalistic and prefers to adapt certain Communist principles to its own distinctive system.

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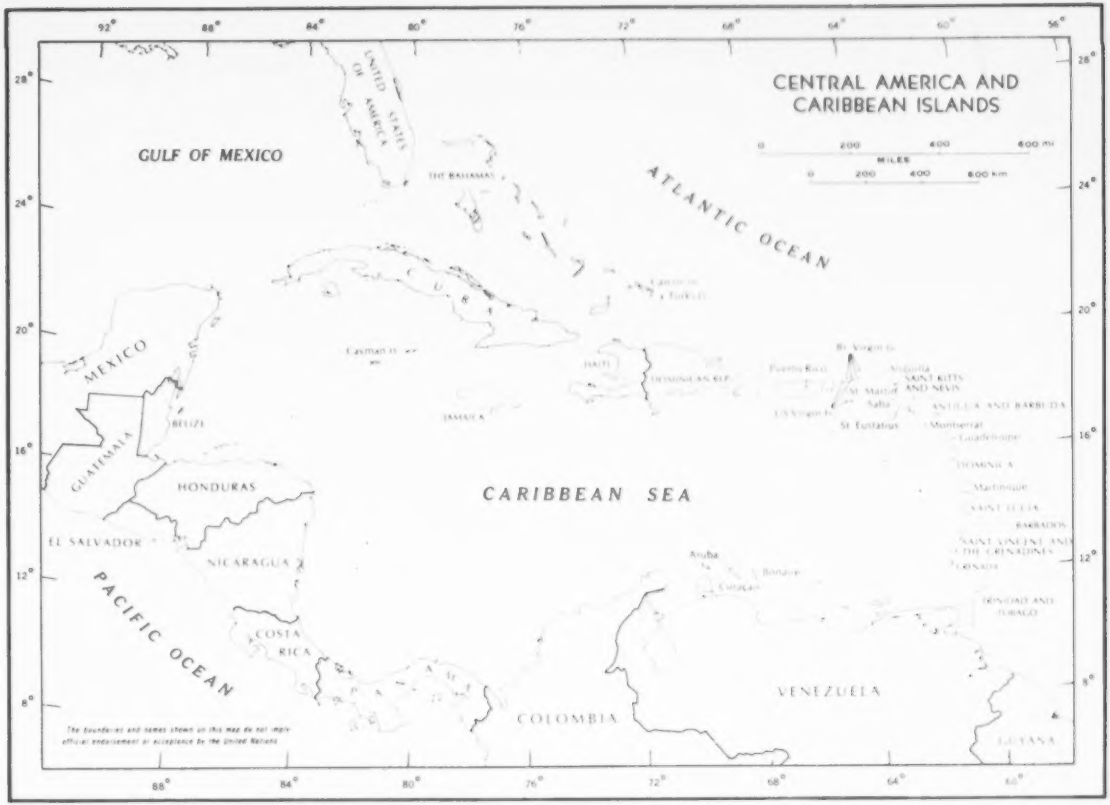
LATIN AMERICA

Latin America divides itself geographically into three distinct regions: South America, Central America, and the Caribbean. **South America** is the cone-shaped continent located in the Southern hemisphere. It is largely tropical except along the west coast where the Andes mountains predominate. In the north is the sparsely populated, uncultivated Amazon Basin. Most of the population lives on the east coast. Agriculture primarily consists of livestock ranching and plantations. The countries in this region include: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Surinam, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The wealthiest is Brazil, followed by Argentina and Venezuela. **Central America** includes Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Mexico, Panama, and Belize. These countries form a strip connecting North America with South America. In Mexico there is a good deal of livestock farming while elsewhere the economy depends on plantation agriculture and is generally poor. Mexico is less wealthy than Brazil in terms of GNP, but wealthier than Argentina and Venezuela. **The Caribbean** consists of two groups of islands, the Greater and Lesser Antilles, located along and just south of the equator, east of Central America. The islands depend on plantation agriculture and tourism, but they are very poor. Countries include: Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Haiti, Jamaica, St. Christopher-Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago.

Currently, most of the countries in Central and South America are Constitutional Republics with elected Presidents. Exceptions are Chile, Panama, Haiti, and Suriname which are governed by the military, and Nicaragua and Cuba where the governments are officially socialist and communist respectively, but where elections are of dubious legitimacy and civil rights are disregarded. In Panama there is a provisional constitution and the government rests in the hands of a general; in Uruguay there is democracy under military rule; in Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador, governments brought to power through coups have proffered constitutions. Occasionally a civilian

government is heavily influenced by the military although the trend is toward greater democracy. The strength of the military is partly endemic to Latin America as a whole since indigenous armies brought the liberation of many countries from Spanish rule in the early nineteenth century, and partly due to US military aid, training of security forces and support of military regimes in order to check the spread of communism, particularly during the Cold War.

The governments in the Caribbean, recently independent from British rule, are mostly members of the Commonwealth with Parliamentary govern-



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ments headed by governors-general. Commonwealth members include: Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Belize, Grenada, St. Christopher-Nevis, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

Regional Organizations

The US has always looked on Latin America as its backyard and therefore regards the security of the area to be of vital consideration. The US has sponsored several regional defense organizations. In 1942 they created the **Inter-American Defense Board.** Which was incorporated into the Organization of American States when that body was created in 1948. It was a permanent organ of preparation and recommendation for collective security measures with no armed forces under its control. The high posts in its staff, secretariat, and Inter-American Defense College are chaired by US representatives. Although autonomous of the OAS, it sometimes merely provides a facade of military sanction for bilateral military assistance agreements.

In 1983, in response to the formation of the Contadora Group (Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, and Mexico) which promoted a peaceful settlement of Central American conflicts, the US sponsored the reestablishment of the **Central American Defense Council** (an experiment that failed in the 1960s) which was endorsed by Honduras, Guatamala, and El Salvador. The members discussed a joint military intervention of Nicaragua. **The Contadora Group** was formed to prevent war and to achieve security and stability for Central America. They hoped to do this through diplomatic means and requested the non-intervention of all foreign troops. Their effort is backed by a **Support Group** (also known as the Lima Group) created in 1985 and consisting of Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay. Although praised by most Latin American states, the Contadora Group has met resistance to its official proposals from Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and the US.

The **Organization of American States** was formed in 1948 to replace the Pan-American Union. It arose as a permanent body qualified to handle defense and juridical issues brought up at the Pan-American Conferences, and it also promoted regional economic, social, and cultural development and cooperation. In the 1960's it assumed the new purpose of preventing the spread of Communism, and in the 1970's it began to handle human rights issues. The OAS excludes only Canada, St. Vincent, and Cuba. The Inter-American Conference meets every five years. The Meeting of Consultation of Foreign Ministers serves as the executive body convening to handle emergencies such as acts of aggression. The Council is the permanent executive committee, representing each state. There are also specialized committees and a General Secretariat in Washington, D.C. Critics have accused the OAS of internalizing the Monroe Doctrine, creating obligations for each state to co-

operate in repulsing an attack on any one of them, without restricting the right of the US to act in self-defense. Member nations, however, stress their independence from the US. Recently the OAS seems to have proved its ineffectiveness by its failure to resolve the Central American crises.

Since 1967, 24 Latin American countries have joined **OPANAL**, the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in South America. Their purpose is to make South America a nuclear-free zone since it is too difficult to guarantee world-wide nuclear disarmament.

The Eastern Caribbean formed its own **Organization of Eastern Caribbean States** in 1981 to effect subregional integration in the spheres of economics, defense and foreign policy. This group resulted from the discovery that such small states by themselves had not the finances or political clout to secure their similar interests.

There are several regional economic organizations promoting integration, development, common policies, and free trade. Such organizations include: the **Central American Common Market** (**CACM**) formed in 1960; the **Andean Group** (**Ancom**) formed in 1969 and consisting of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, and Panama; the **Caribbean Community and Common Market** (**Caricom**) formed in 1973 and including all of the Caribbean states except the Dominican Republic, Cuba and Haiti, and also including Guyana and Belize; the **Latin American Economic System** (**LAES**) formed in 1975 to promote Latin American multinational enterprises, protect the price of basic commodities, ensure markets for regional exports, and reinforce technological and scientific cooperation among members which include all of Latin America except those in the Commonwealth; and the **Latin American Integration Association** (**LAIA**) formed in 1981 as the direct descendent of the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) and including Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. In 1984 this group decided to specialize in regional trade and payments. In addition, in 1984 Mexico, Colombia, Argentina, and Brazil, the largest debtors of Latin America, combined in the **Cartagena Group** to collectively manage their financial crisis. They were soon joined by Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Bolivia, Chile, the Dominican Republic, and Uruguay. Rather than serving as a debtor's cartel, they espouse a case by case treatment of debts. Finally, there are a number of producer cartels for such commodities as rubber (ANPRC), iron-ore (APEF), copper (CIPEC), cocoa (Copal and ICCO), sugar (Geplacea and ISO), bauxite (IBA), cotton (ICAC and IIC), coffee (ICO), lead and zinc (ILZ), wool (IWSG), wheat (IWTC), oil (OPEC), and bananas (UPEB).

Furthermore, all Latin American states are members of the Non-aligned Movement except Chile, Paraguay, Venezuela, Guatemala, Honduras, Belize, Haiti, St. Christopher-Nevis, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Most are also members of the Group of 77, the group promoting the political and economic rights of Third World countries.

Latin America and the United Nations

The Charter Members of the United Nations include: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Mexico, Panama, and Cuba. In terms of voting patterns, a few of the Latin American countries agree with the US on a range of issues.

On ten of the most important issues before the UN in 1986, for example, Cuba voted opposite to the US on all ten issues; Nicaragua abstained on the condemnation of the Afghanistan intervention and on the US proposal to ban chemical weapons; these two issues and also on the condemnation of the Kampuchean intervention; Dominica agreed on the condemnation of both interventions and also accepted Israeli credentials for UN General Assembly participation; Mexico agreed with the US on the intervention in Afghanistan, the criticism of Human Rights abuses in Afghanistan and Iran, and the acceptance of Israeli credentials. Guyana, Nicaragua, and Cuba criticized US policy in the Middle East, and Cuba, Nicaragua, and Mexico criticized US policy in Namibia. All Latin American countries except Grenada and St. Christopher-Nevis either abstained or criticized the US trade embargo against Nicaragua.

The Latin American countries tend to vote with the Group of 77 on issues of trade, finance, development aid, debt management, technology transfer, and nationalization of industries. The US has accused 26 Latin American countries human rights violations, and has also implicated many in drug trafficking, which creates tension within the UN. The solidarity of these countries is threatened by infinite border disputes and other juridical questions (such as refugees), but most are agreed on the principles of anti-Communism, respect for human rights, national self-determination, anti-imperialism, a New International Economic Order, peaceful resolution of conflict through diplomacy, Pan-Americanism, and nuclear disarmament.

Since detente between the USSR and the US, Cuba has reestablished diplomatic relations with Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Panama, Peru, Mexico, Venezuela, and St. Lucia. In general the Caribbean states tend to be more pro-US than other South American states due to their proximity and economic interdependence with the US.

Recently, the most serious issues affecting interstate relations in South America and between Latin America and the Western industrialized nations have been illegal drug trafficking, human rights violations, conservation of democracy, the debt crisis, and the conflict in Central America. Although many Latin American countries have difficulties with drug trafficking, the most serious problems occur in Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, and Belize. Ecuador and the Bahamas have transit troubles. Besides the health risks of drug addiction, recently increased by the spread of AIDS through intravenous drug use, drug trafficking is becoming so pervasive and generating such enormous

revenue that economies are disturbed, legal institutions are threatened, and even states' security is in danger. In April, 1985 the Colombian Minister of Justice was assassinated after the government raided a drug processing center. Drug trafficking has also been linked to weapons trafficking, subversion, and international terrorism because of its convenient underground network. The cultivation of marijuana and cocaine is highly lucrative and therefore producers are resistant to crop-substitution efforts.

The UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC, founded 1971) uses voluntary contributions to sponsor programs within countries to organize crop-substitution, provide drug awareness education, rehabilitate drug users, and increase drug law enforcement. The UNFDAC ultimately depends on the cooperation of the governments concerned, and in this they have been fortunate that civilian governments since 1984 have increased cooperative efforts. Often it is the military who benefit both from drug trafficking and from such aid programs at the same time, and who are in an excellent position to resist the dismantling of their multi-billion dollar industry. Unfortunately, when a drug ring is eliminated from one country it may spread to neighboring countries. This happened in Colombia in 1984 when some drug dealers moved their operations to Ecuador and Peru. This makes international cooperation essential. In June, 1987 the UN convened an International Conference to strengthen international action.

Regarding the issue of human rights, General Pinochet of Chile argues that despite his efforts at reform, his regime is the scapegoat of those countries sympathetic to the former Allende regime. A UN investigation revealed that conditions were worsening since Pinochet declared of emergency in 1985. In El Salvador, government and insurgent forces have violated the 1949 Geneva Convention's rules of war concerning rights of civilians, treatment of war prisoners, the wounded, and health personnel. Urban centers have been bombed, and right-wing death-squads abduct and murder their political opponents. President Duarte disbanded several police units and initiated other reforms. In Guatemala, there had been violence against noncombatants, massive displacement and forced recruitment of rural and indigenous peoples, disappearances, detentions, and killings. The new Constitution has provisions to safeguard human rights; consequently the General Assembly has dropped Guatemala from its list of countries to monitor. In Argentina, President Alfonsin vowed to persevere with trials of military officials guilty of disappearances and torturing under the previous regime, but after a serious confrontation with officers which he ostensibly won, he conceded some amnesties. In Paraguay a UN Commission found threats to individual liberty resulting in arbitrary detention and cruel treatment of prisoners. The Commission publicly invited the Stroessner regime to end its 20-year state of siege. In Bolivia the new government has been cooperating with the UN advisory services to end human rights abuses. Haiti has also recurrently appeared before the UN Commission on Human Rights.

Because of the influence of the Soviet Union and some non-aligned countries on UN human rights bodies, violations by Nicaragua and Cuba are not investigated, making it appear that only US allies are guilty of human rights offenses. The US, however, maintains that Cuba is a police state suppressing political dissent via imprisonment. The US also called Nicaragua's 1984 elections a sham and charged the Sandinistas with repressing Miskito Indians and the Catholic Church.

Although the same offenders seem to appear year after year, indicating that the current UN approach of resisting publicity and sanctions (from fear of worsening the situation), is ineffective, the list of violators has actually decreased over the last decade. This is due to the fall of some of the worst military regimes: in Guyana in 1980, in Colombia in 1981, in Bolivia in 1982, in Argentina in 1983, in Uruguay in 1984, in Brazil in 1984, and in Peru in 1985. Other regimes, in Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador, Venezuela, and Ecuador for example, are initiating reforms to gain support from their own citizens. The US and other nations encourage such reforms.

The Latin American countries face a frightful barrier to democratic reform, however, and that is their current financial crisis. Much of the mounting foreign debt arises from external factors. These countries, having only lately industrialized and therefore having trouble gaining a share of the world market, or relying on only one or two commodities for export, are much more dependent on the world's economic situation than their more diversified and developed northern neighbors. Consequently they were much more affected by the rise in oil prices and the world recession which led to a fall in commodity prices and the rise in interest rates. During the 1970's high US inflation made interest rates negative so that loans to Latin America were effectively interest-free. Now that inflation is low in the lending countries, Latin American export markets have been hurt by agricultural protectionism in the North and by decreased private investment in their countries. Therefore, not only can they not sell their agricultural exports, but they also cannot compete in the service and industrial sectors which require large capital resources.

All of these factors have had a spiraling effect. Countries are paying higher prices for imported industrial goods while the value of their exports have fallen, leading to a trade deficit which they try to finance by borrowing, mostly from private lending institutions which charge high interest rates and whose periods until maturity are often as short as one year. Whatever revenue these countries generate is merely recycled into paying the interest on debts. Often governments resort to printing money to solve their fiscal difficulties but end up instigating hyperinflation instead. Unemployment soars, leading to popular unrest which necessitates increased security forces and hence increased military expenditure (as well as increased risk of civil rights abuses).

The industrialized North, and particularly the US, is experiencing budgetary problems of its own. Its willingness to extend bilateral aid is further

dampened by the realization that some of the development aid lines the pockets of government officials or is inefficiently applied to poorly planned and organized projects. Thus today Mexico and Brazil each owe over 100 billion dollars, Argentina's debt is some 50 billion, Venezuela owes about 30 billion, and Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Uruguay, and the Dominican Republic owe substantial amounts as well. The Caribbean and Central American countries have fared no better, but because their economies are so much smaller to begin with, the volume of their debts is comparatively smaller.

The Latin American countries have long been aware of the dangers of over-dependency on industrialized countries, and throughout the 1970's at international conferences such as the UN Conference on Trade and Development or the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade, they vociferously clamored for a New International Economic Order. The industrialized North, however, led by the US, refused to agree to commodity price stabilization and other measures which would effectively redistribute the world's wealth. The South argued that such a redistribution was just, since they had been exploited for centuries by colonizers and neo-imperialist multinational enterprises. The North argued that its economic activities in the developing countries in fact contributed to economic growth and to the rise in standards of living in the South. Now the debtor nations have united in the Cartagena Group, demanding a rescheduling of their debts so they will have more time in which to repay them; lower interest rates; new loans; as well as their old demands for a New International Economic Order.

The private and international lending institutions, such as the Inter-American Development Bank, the IMF, and the World Bank, are making further loans conditional upon the countries' adoption of austerity measures to curb inflation and inefficient spending; reform of export and import industries to be more efficient and competitive; and punishment of corruption and graft. Some of the smaller countries like Bolivia and Peru have attempted to refuse payment of any interest on their debts until the North agrees to reschedule these debts. Recognizing that private institutions are at the mercy of these countries, some commercial banks have written off large proportions of the debts. Recently the US has proven more cooperative, putting forward the Baker Plan which provides for new loans to fifteen Latin American countries, albeit conditionally.

In Central America, the debt crisis only compounds the social and political turmoil which has been growing to its present crisis proportions since the 1960's. It appears to be both a racial and a class struggle for a more equitable redistribution of political and economic power. The Hispanic elite had monopolized land holdings and political posts since the conquistadors imposed a feudalistic latifundia system on the natives and forced the Indians and imported Africans into subservience and even slavery. The growth of export markets for coffee, bananas, and cotton since the nineteenth century encouraged still further concentration of land and exploitation of peasant

laborers. Many US agribusiness interests joined in the competition and aligned themselves with the landowners. The US government also supported the conservative elite against disruptive peasant rebellions. The physical uprooting of subject populations increased peasant alienation from the land but also galvanized their politicization. They sought peaceful change but were frequently denied the opportunity to become middle class citizens partly because the elite may have feared that any concessions would lead to further demands and would weaken their hold on political power.

Able to convince the US that chaos was the only alternative, the elites received the external military support they needed to resist peasant demands for reform and quash rebellions which had been successful elsewhere. Since 1962, the Roman Catholic Church itself became vulnerable to persecution which only strengthened its identification with resistance movements. Urbanization and ironically the Kennedy-sponsored Alliance for Progress (to aid Latin American economic and social development) spurred the development of workers' parties, even an indigenous Marxist movement. Previous US administrations encouraged non-Marxist parties and elections, and the US traditionally armed and trained military and paramilitary forces. Actually these actions reinforced military establishments which took the opportunity to thwart any change threatening their interests.

During the 1970's economic decline as a consequence of soaring oil prices, the dissolution of the Central American Common Market, rising interest rates and debt service charges, worsening terms of trade, and corruption fell most heavily on the deprived groups whose militance further increased. These problems reached crisis proportions in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua.

In Guatemala, the opportunity for social reform was crushed in 1954 when the CIA in conjunction with US-based United Fruit Company arranged the overthrow of President Arbenz to halt rural reforms and the nationalization of the fruit industry. Since then successive military regimes massacred the Indian population in order to acquire their land, which led the Indian peasants to join guerrilla movements. In 1985 a new constitution promised the protection of basic human rights, and elections have brought in a new government.

In El Salvador the problem of land concentration is worsened by the country's complete dependence on plantation agriculture and the annual population increase of 4%. When the peasants organized under the aegis of the Church in the 1960's the Romero regime established a vigilante network in addition to the US-supported National Guard, the National Police, and the Treasury Police. These forces were all largely autonomous. In 1979 there arose a military youth movement among lower officials in the regular armed forces who felt that the arbitrary violence and corruption of these security forces were tarnishing the image of the military establishment. They also witnessed the dissolution of the Nicaraguan National Guard after the revolution and were determined to avoid the same fate by initiating structural re-

forms. The youths also feared that the human rights record of the Romero regime would make El Salvador ineligible for US military assistance. Finally, the young officers were prevented from promotion by the senior officers.

The 1979 coup in El Salvador was bloodless, but the dispersal of power precluded real democratic reform. The leaders of the coup sought to institutionalize their political influence through the Permanent Council of the Armed Forces, an experiment in military democracy. Despite the flight of many senior officers and the dismissal of 70 more, the army hierarchy remained much the same. The Cabinet and junta civilians resigned en masse when the US supported Defense Ministry blocked reforms. The military commanders also maintained vigilante activities in the rural areas. The military youth were unable to restrain their superiors, and also distrusted the Left. However, the Christian Democrats put together a government with the military in exchange for agrarian and labor reform and nationalization of export and banking sectors.

Meanwhile the popular leftist organizations, used to clandestine and violent opposition, regarded the Christian Democrats as traitors and formed a coalition called the **Revolutionary Democratic Front** (**FDR**) with affiliated guerrilla groups, the **FMLN**. The Left condemned the Land Reform Program for corruption, leading to its cessation. The reformers had been unable to dominate the junta or control the military field commanders or security forces. Facing coups from the Left and Right, the junta was eventually undermined by its only supporter when the US granted aid to the military. The Left claims that the US was giving priority to preventing revolution rather than promoting reform. Both sides now assumed the offensive, with attacks on rural military installations and increased vigilante activity causing the deaths of many civilians. President Reagan's election coincided with a purge of reformers in the junta.

To demonstrate to Congress and a dubious world that the US-backed regime had popular support, Reagan pressed for elections in 1982, but the right-wing extremists rigged them to their advantage. While the US arranged for new, monitored elections, the guerilla forces grew in strength as thousands of youths joined them to avoid being massacred or pressed into government army service. In 1984 the newly elected Christian Democratic President Duarte offered to negotiate with the guerillas, who agreed. But the military would not consent to power sharing or a restructuring of the armed forces. The military would also not agree to a cease-fire that would legitimize rebel control of one-third of the country. The peace talks did increase Christian Democratic support in the National Assembly elections, however.

Death squad murders have fallen but the civilian death rate remains high due to bombing and strafing. A million Salvadorans, one-fifth of the population, have become refugees. The rebels have set up a civilian government in the area they control, and here they attempt to protect villagers from government forces. The civil war is really total war, with the government pursuing a scorched earth policy in rebel territories to cause surrender from starvation.

Stalemate continues, to the dismay of neighboring countries currently sheltering refugees.

Nicaragua, in addition to its land and labor struggles, was occupied by US marines until 1933, who left behind them a well-trained National Guard under the command of Anastasio Somoza Garcia. In reaction against his tyrannical dynasty, a guerrilla war broke out in the 1960's led by students inspired by Marxism and the liberation theology of the Church. In 1961 the insurrectionists adopted the name of the **Sandinista National Liberation Front.** Their fortunes improved when they began to organize the peasantry.

In 1974, in response to the kidnapping of political associates, Somoza declared a state of siege. He managed to alienate both the middle class and the Church, who came to condone the violent overthrow of his regime. The highly popular publisher of the one legal newspaper was assassinated, probably for lambasting the regime, but the newspaper continued to serve as the nucleus of the Sandinistas. By 1979, the Sandinistas, divided into three based on the sources of support they sought (peasant, urban worker, or middle class), agreed on a political program and military strategy. When actual fighting erupted across the country, men, women, and children joined militias to help overthrow the Somoza regime.

The new government received international political support and economic aid to repair the genocidal damage left in the wake of the war. President Carter, who had tried to back the moderate business interests and seek a peaceful solution through diplomatic channels such as the OAS, now feared that the Sandinistas with their socialist platform would back the leftist guerrillas in El Salvador. Still greater, however, was his concern that without adequate financial and political support from Washington, the new regime might turn to the Cubans or Soviets for aid and become their puppets. In fact, the extreme poverty and instability of the nation made it an unlikely prospect for Soviet clientage, and the Cubans perceived the Sandinistas as nationalistic and accorded them less aid than some capitalist countries in West Europe and South America.

Many members of the business community accepted as inevitable the nationalization of banks and foreign trade operations, but others refused to compromise and joined with Samoza supporters and Sandinistas denied high posts in the new regime, to form the **"contra"** opposition movement. These poorly equipped and unorganized dissidents launch raids from neighboring Honduras and Costa Rica but enjoy little support either in Latin America or in their own country. They are only able to remain afloat due to the military aid provided by the Reagan Administration, which fears the spread of communism and does not believe a diplomatic solution is possible.

The Contadora Group, in its peace proposals, attempts to assure the security of the region to assuage the fears of the US and the Sandinistas. They recommend the expulsion of Soviet bloc advisors, an end to the importation of Soviet weapons, an end to support for leftist rebels in el Salvador, a reduction of Nicaragua's army, an end to US support of the contras, and the

US withdrawal from the region. Furthermore, they support diplomatic negotiations with the Sandinistas, and desire the latter to initiate democratic reform by holding elections and incorporating into the government all political parties except the unpopular contras. Many have accused Reagan of undermining the peace proposals since the treaty provides no guarantee that the Sandinistas would comply or that the contras would be included in any representation scheme. The US hesitates to withdraw the military before the actual implementation of any treaty. The other countries in the region support the Contadora proposals in part because refugees from the various conflicts are disrupting their economies and in some places launching raids from their borders, in part because of the general threat to political and economic stability which would result from a war, in part to eliminate foreign involvement in the conflict, and of course there are the humanitarian desires to end bloodshed and human rights abuses. Costa Rica sponsored a peace proposal which led to the meeting of five Central American presidents in August, 1987 in Guatemala where they adopted a cease-fire agreement calling for democratic reform in Nicaragua contingent upon end to foreign involvement (including aid to the contras) and direct talks between the government and rebels in El Salvador. The agreement has met wide acclaim.

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THE MIDDLE EAST

The term "middle east" denotes the western perspective of a vast land mass linking Europe's Mediterranean commercial and cultural center with the vital primary resources of South and East Asia. The strategic location of this land bridge connecting the Mediterranean and the Black Sea with the Indian Ocean via the Red Sea, the Nile, the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf influenced the rise and fall of great empires. The Middle East was the cradle of civilization and furthermore the birthplace of the three great monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, making the region the site of religious crusades and holy pilgrimages. It is only within the last century that this predominantly arid region's only significant natural resource, oil, has emerged as a source of power and conflict. The power accruing from control of oil resources and the potential monopoly of strategic military and economic access to other regions are recent incentives to ancient unification efforts among the countries comprising the middle east, but the pull of nationalism often works to undermine effective unification.

The countries with predominantly Arab populations are: Algeria, Bahrain, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, the Yemen Arab Republic, and the Yemen People's Democratic Republic. Iran's populace is mostly Persian while Israel has a Jewish majority. In addition, there are numerous ethnic minorities such as the Kurds who seek independent, sovereign status and often resort to violence to gain recognition, and Coptic Christians.

While most of the Arab world is Sunni Muslim, there are several Shi'ite sects which vie for political power, since in this region religion and state are not traditionally separated. Sometimes these sects are quite fanatical in their desire to impose their values on all aspects of their respective country's political system. Religious issues surface in such conflicts as the Iran-Iraq war, the Lebanese crisis and the Arab-Israeli tension, although the root cause is often political. These hostilities threaten the tranquility of neighboring countries, and also threaten the supply of oil to both developed and developing nations, causing the competing involvement of the superpowers.

Regional Organizations

The **League of Arab States**, a regional organization formed in 1945, consists of all those Arab states in the Arabian Peninsula, North Africa, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Fertile Crescent. The organization sponsors cooperation among the member states, generates consensus, and coordinates foreign policies. The League is organized into five departments: 1) the Council, in which all members have one vote; 2) the permanent committees; 3) the General Secretariat; 4) the Specialized Ministerial Councils; and 5) the specialized agencies. The League has worked very closely with the United Nations, sharing information, consultation, documentation, and representation. The effectiveness of the League is questionable, however. In 1985, when it assembled for two emergency meetings to resolve the problem of the massacres of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, it had not met in three years due to conflicting national interests among the members. Furthermore, the second emergency meeting was boycotted by Algeria, Lebanon, Libya, Syria, and South Yemen. In addition, the adopted Fez Plan for the creation of a Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as the capitol has been shelved. An Arab-Israeli peace must first be negotiated.

A regional policy influencing body of the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**, formed in 1960 by Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi

Arabia, and Venezuela, is the **Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC)**. OPEC coordinates members' oil prices and supplies. By 1976 OPEC members accounted for 68% of the noncommunist oil supply. In 1973 OAPEC was highly successful in raising the price and restricting the supply of Arab oil to those countries which supported Israel in the October War of 1973. The political clout achieved by such cooperative action extended to voting practices in the UN and spurred the creation of producer cartels for other commodities, which, however, have never been as successful. Some westerners have viewed the recent divergence of oil production and prices from levels set by OPEC as a sign of the weakening of OPEC. They say that the organization is further undermined by the fact that oil importing countries have reduced their dependence on OPEC oil. Far from verging on collapse, however, the cartel continues to function even in the absence of a unifying embargo.

There is also an association of Arab gulf states in the **Gulf Cooperation Council** which includes: Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. This was formed in 1981 to prevent the spread of the Iran-Iraq war and may also check the spread of Shi'ite revolutionary ideas, although the latter motive is not publicly acknowledged.

There are various organizations promoting economic integration and regional development, such as the Arab Monetary Fund (1977), the Council of Arab Economic Unity (1957), and the Economic Committee for Western Asia (1973), which is associated with the UN.

As far as religious organizations are concerned, the **Organization of the Islamic Conference** is the largest chartered organization, formed in 1969 and including all countries with predominantly Muslim populations, over fifty percent of which are non-Arab. The group promotes solidarity and cooperation in economic, social, cultural, scientific, and political fields. In 1981 they promulgated the Mecca Declaration calling for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, and have drawn up several peace proposals for ending the Iran-Iraq war. They were also responsible for creating the Islamic Re-insurance Corporation, for aiding drought victims in the Sahel, and for urging the adaptation of Islamic Law to modern conditions. Often the conference is crippled by lack of consensus, as in 1984 when members could not agree on issues dealing with Afghanistan, the Gulf war, and Lebanon.

Since the formation of OPEC, the Arabs have experienced the benefits and influence deriving from international economic cooperation. The Arabs determine their national interests independently, and vote together when their interests permit. On certain issues, however, national interests require divergent voting. Syria, Libya, and the Yemen People's Democratic Republic often find their interests converging with those of the Soviets, for example. Egypt frequently abstains from voting on issues concerning Israel since the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Accord of 1979, but in 1986 boldly voted in favor of accepting Israeli credentials at the General Assembly while most other Arab

states voted against. Iran, since its revolution, votes less often with the other Arab states and claims that the UN Security Council favors Iraq so that it is not obligated to follow its peace resolutions. The Israeli delegation's voting in the GA is governed by the following set of principles: first, political conflicts should not interfere with social and humanitarian issues; second, Israel condemns economic sanctions and boycotts; third, notwithstanding anti-Israeli sentiment, the Israeli delegation never walks out of a session in protest. The Israelis are known for their dramatic presentations, where they reveal surprise evidence to counter charges leveled at them.

Diversities in the aims and attitudes of the Arab states occasionally hinder consensus on regional issues. One area of dispute centers on the competition for leadership of the Arab nations. Since President Nasser of Egypt served as the paragon of Arab nationalism by his defiance of Britain and France in the 1956 Suez crisis, other nations have similarly sought the prestige accruing from leadership. Other Arab states seem to prefer the advantages of good relations with one of the superpowers. Jordan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia currently have more friendly relations with the West and receive military and economic benefits from the US. Syria, Iraq, and Libya currently have good relations with the Soviets and receive military and economic support from the USSR.

Arab-Israeli Conflict

The **World Zionist Organization** announced its goal in 1897 'to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law.' Locations originally considered for this Jewish national home were East Africa and Argentina. Palestine was decided upon, due to its status as the Biblical Promised Land of the Jews from which they were expelled in the first and sixth centuries without ever completely leaving the area. In fact, the Jews remaining enjoyed a somewhat protected status as merchants and bankers under Islamic law, receiving better treatment than they did under Christian law in Europe.

In 1916, the British promised Arab independence from Ottoman rule to the Sherif of Mecca in return for Arab help in fighting Ottoman Turkey during World War I. This included Palestine, which, however, the British promised to the Jews as a National Home under British administration in the **Balfour Declaration** of 1917. This latter promise was made in return for Jewish aid in the war effort without consultation with the Arabs. After the war, the League of Nations divided up the territories of the defunct Ottoman empire and assigned them as mandates to the British and the French, mostly in accordance with the terms of the secret **Sykes-Picot agreement** of 1916 between France and Britain. Palestine and Jordan were given to Britain to be administered temporarily. In response to Arab protests over allowing the Jews to have a national home in Palestine, which they feared might injure Palestinian rights if the Jews ever became a majority, the British issued a declaration

in 1918, guaranteeing the protection of Palestinian rights. Thus the Arabs today claim that the Palestinians were denied the right of self-determination promoted by the Covenant of the League of Nations, and furthermore that the British as foreigners had no legal basis for issuing the Balfour Declaration in the first place, even if Palestinian rights were assured. Transjordan went to Britain as part of Palestine but was separated from it in 1922. Syria became a French mandate and was then arbitrarily divided into current Syria and Lebanon. All of the latter nations achieved independence after World War II with little conflict.

Meanwhile, between world wars, Jewish immigration surged. In panic, the Palestinian Arabs resorted to violence. Major riots occurred in 1920, 1921, 1929, and 1939. From 1936 to 1939 the anti-Zionist riots reached full-scale rebellion. A **British Royal Commission** in 1937 went to investigate the turmoil. Zionist leaders urged upon Britain the strategic advantage of gaining a new ally to guard the Suez Canal. In addition, they appealed to British sympathies by claiming that centuries of anti-semitism had proved the need for a Jewish state where the Jews could live free from persecution. Furthermore, the Jews had become so entrenched in Palestine that they could no longer be transferred. The commission concluded, however, that "the forcible conversion of Palestine into a Jewish state against the will of the Arabs . . . would clearly violate the spirit and intention of the mandate system. It would mean national self-determination had been withheld when the Arabs were a majority in Palestine and only conceded when the Jews were in a majority."

The commission recommended the partition of Palestine into two states, one Arab and one Jewish. The Jews initially rejected this idea because it violated the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, but finally agreed. The Arabs rejected the establishment of a Jewish state in any part of Palestine. In 1947 the British handed the issue to the new United Nations, which created the **United Nations Special Committee on Palestine.** UNSCOP presented two proposals: a unified Palestine and a partition plan for two separate states. The majority favored partition. The states were to achieve independence on May 15, 1948. The General Assembly Adopted the plan over Arab objections that it was illegal.

Up until British troops withdrew from Palestine in 1948, the **Haganah**, a Zionist group (and according to the Arabs a terrorist group) gained control over territory it claimed was allotted to the Jewish state. Immediately after the British withdrew, seven Arab armies invaded Israel in the first full-scale war. Palestinians fled before the armies to bordering Arab countries. Israel claims that Arab governments encouraged Palestinians to migrate, while the Arabs claim that the Israelis expelled the 726,000 refugees. The war ended in 1949 in an Armistice agreement without a peace settlement.

The 1947 UN partition plan favored an internationalization of Jerusalem. After the 1949 Armistice agreement, the city was divided, the modern part going to Israel and the old city left to Jordan. The old city, holy in all

three faiths, was sealed off from all Israeli pilgrims, while Christians were allowed to enter the city on Christmas and Easter. Hundreds of Jewish graves were destroyed, religious relics were desecrated, synagogues pulled down, and the Western Wall, the Jews' holiest site, became a garbage dump. The Arabs now accuse the Israelis of similar disrespect for symbols for the Muslim faith in Israeli-occupied Arab territory.

During the 1967 "Six-Day War", between Israel and Egypt, Syria and Jordan, Israel claims to have prevented the flight of more Palestinians, while the Arabs insist that the war created another half a million refugees. After facilitating a cease fire, the UN Security Council requested Israel to allow the refugees to return home and to observe the Fourth Geneva Convention (1949) in the occupied territories. Israel did not comply with either. The UN Security Council Resolution 242 called for the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from occupied territories, and further adjured the termination of all hostilities as well as respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. In 1969 the General Assembly first recognized the political rights of the Palestinians. In 1974 the General Assembly recognized the inalienable right of the Palestinians to self-determination, national independence, and sovereignty and granted the Palestine Liberation Organization observer status in the UN as the official representatives of the Palestinians.

Between 1967 and 1977 the Jewish group Gush Emunium (block of the faithful) settled on the West Bank, allegedly with the concurrence of the Israeli government. The Gush Emunium claim this land was part of the ancient Kingdom of Israel. Some extremists with strong political support sought to confront the government with a choice between annexing the territories or risking civil war. At least one million Israeli citizens will settle there by the year 2000, making the return of these lands nearly impossible. There already are at least 60,000, perhaps 100,000 Israelis living in 110 settlements spread over the area.

Israel claims that the pre-1967 borders were deficient for conventional defense for five major reasons: 1) they lacked strategic depth; 2) they exposed Israel's population and industry to Arab artillery; 3) they gave the Arabs topographic advantages; 4) they were long and indefensible; 5) they provided no terrain obstacles to separate Israel from her neighbors. Actually, the Armistice line in existence from 1949 to 1967 had not been intended to be permanent; supposedly the boundaries would have been replaced by negotiated ones but this never happened. By contrast, the post-1967 borders are more favorable to Israel. The West Bank gives her strategic depth since Israel is only nine to eighteen miles wide without it. West Jerusalem, Israel's capital, had only a five-mile corridor to the coastal plain. Israel avers that such an area provides no room to absorb any first strike attack from the West Bank. Because of this, Israel has adopted a preemptive strategy. In the 1967 Six Day War, Israel seized the West Bank, the Golan Heights, and Sinai upon defeat-

ing an attack by Egypt, Jordan, and Syria and intended to keep these new defensible borders as long as there was danger of attack or terrorist raids. Later, in 1973, Syria and Israel signed a disengagement agreement and the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) was stationed on the Golan Heights.

The **Palestinian Liberation Organization** was formed in 1964. PLO officials have stated repeatedly that they would accept authority over the West Bank, but only as a step to the eventual return of all land that now comprises Israel. Israel contends that the objective of the PLO is stated in Article Nine of the Palestine National Covenant: "Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine and is therefore a strategy and not tactics. The Palestinian Arab people affirms its absolute resolution and abiding determination to pursue the armed struggle and to work for an armed popular revolution, to liberate its homeland and return to it to maintain its right to a natural life in it and to exercise its right of self-determination in it and sovereignty over it."

Israel claims that the standard of living for Arabs living in the occupied territories are the highest for any Arab in the Middle East, while the Arabs claim that Palestinians suffer from depressed wages in comparison with Israeli salaries. Meanwhile, in 1979 a major break-through in the peace process occurred when Egypt and Israel signed a Peace Treaty in which Israel turned over the Sinai Peninsula and was formally recognized by Egypt. While Egypt's apparent betrayal of the Arab cause may have cost her membership in the Arab League, it may also have opened the way for a regional or international conference on peace in the Middle East.

Lebanon

The Eastern Mediterranean has always had a very diverse mixture of ethnic and religious groups who used to live in isolated, autonomous enclaves within the Islamic empire. The groups include Maronite Christians, Greek Orthodox Christians, Greek Catholic Christians, Druze, Shi'ite Muslims, and Sunni Muslims, with many of these groups further divided along political lines. When the French arbitrarily divided their mandate over Greater Syria into Lebanon and Syria, they developed a system of proportional representation of the different sects. Lebanon's 1926 Constitution set up a Parliament with a membership ratio of six Christians to five Muslims based on the population. Since the last census in 1932, the Muslims have attained a majority but the representation scheme has not been altered. The President, chosen by this National Assembly is by custom a Maronite Christian while the Prime Minister is a Sunni Muslim and the speaker of parliament is a Shi'ite. The other groups also hold traditional posts.

Loyalty to family and religious group overshadows any nationalist sentiment, while sectarian squabbles are long remembered and preclude harmony. None of this is mitigated by the fact that the Muslims, especially the Shi'ites,

are considerably poorer than the urban Christians. To protect their interests, many of the political and religious groups have created their own militias, and frequently call in foreign allies for military aid. In the past, the Druze were allied with the Muslim Turks, the Maronites looked to the French, the Russian Orthodox relied on the Russians, some Maronites have allied with the Israelis, different groups have sided with the Syrians, and the Egyptians and Americans have been known to step in to keep the peace.

Lebanon's political leaders have traditionally maintained a neutral foreign policy as part of their domestic balancing act, even though many Lebanese (most Muslims and some Christians) prefer close ties with Syria or even unification. It was only in 1943 that Lebanon achieved complete independence from Syria. In 1958, Nasser's call for pan-Arab unity inspired the Lebanese Muslims to demand greater political representation. The danger of civil war was so great that Lebanese President Camille Chamoun requested American troops to maintain order.

Although most Arab Lebanese condemned Israel and blamed the Israelis for the influx of 100,000 Palestinian refugees since 1947, the Lebanese government preserved peaceful borders with Israel for two decades. Instrumental to the peaceful borders was the establishment of the **United Nations Truce Supervision Organization** (**UNTSO**) in 1948. In 1970, civil war in Jordan caused a mass exodus of Palestinians who moved to Lebanon. There were now a half million Palestinians living in refugee camps. The problem of what to do with these homeless people worsened when the PLO set up operations in the camps. Lebanon's central government and military forces were not strong enough to prevent the PLO from building up a state within a state. Furthermore, the PLO launched raids into Israel which prompted retaliatory strikes by the latter, sometimes attacking Beirut itself.

In 1975 a full scale civil war erupted between the Maronites and rightist groups, and the Palestinians and Lebanese leftists. When the Palestinians and leftists were gaining control in June 1976, President al-Assad of Syria sent in troops to support the Maronites and rightists and to end the war. This move was supported by the Lebanese government, by the US, by Israel, and by the Arab League. Only the Soviets opposed it. Although Syrians consider Lebanon and Syria to be one cultural entity, Assad claims Syrian troops are preserving Lebanese independence and considers the occupation of Lebanon by Syrian troops to be only a temporary measure.

Meanwhile, by 1976 Israel had begun providing weapons and training to Maronite troops in Lebanon. They shared a common animosity toward the PLO and the Syrians and both wanted to strengthen Maronite political power. In 1978, in retaliation against a PLO attack, Israel invaded Lebanon, bombing Beirut, and only withdrew when the US threatened to cut off military aid, and when the UN Interim Force in Lebanon arrived to preserve the peace. But Israel invaded again in 1982, blaming the PLO for the assassination of an ambassador and responding to alleged PLO raids. The invasion was part of their larger operation called **"Peace for Gallilee."** This plan had

several purposes: to remove the threat to the northern border of Israel; to force the Syrians out of Lebanon; to establish a friendly Lebanese government which would make peace; and to destroy and drive out the PLO.

Soon the pro-Israeli Maronite Bashir Gemayel became President and began negotiations for peace. The Israelis made a partial withdrawal, replaced by an international force which supervised the departure of Arafat and his troops and then themselves departed. Then Gemayel was assassinated, Israeli troops returned, Palestinians were massacred in their refugee camps by Christian Lebanese forces in revenge for the assassination of Gemayel, and the international force returned. The Arabs were outraged and held the Israelis responsible for the massacres. In such confusion the civilian government had little or no control over events, yet outsiders continued to treat the President as the nation's spokesman. Finally in May 1983 the President agreed to peace with Israel, believing that the US and Israel would protect Maronite interests. Although both Israeli and Syrian troops were to withdraw, Syria's President did not see why he should have to remove his forces when it was Israel which had invaded. Assad came to oppose the treaty since it would give further Arab recognition of Israel's legitimacy. It would also give Israel rights of intervention and overflight not granted to Syria, and in assuring Maronite power, it would erode Syrian influence. He also felt that it was a deliberate attempt by Israel to distract attention away from the real issue of the Palestinians in the occupied territories. Moreover, he hoped to force Lebanon to abrogate the treaty in order to embarrass the US.

Syrian-backed resistors harassed Israeli troops until the latter finally withdrew, having only accomplished the removal of PLO troops which left Israel's northern border more secure. Meanwhile the American troops responded to similar attacks with heavy artillery, until in February, 1984, the US withdrew its marines. Lebanon's president Amin Gemayel cancelled the Israeli-Lebanese agreement, and Assad could claim an Arab victory over the US.

In December 1985 the Syrians approached the militia leaders directly to bring about their reconciliation, but the ensuing **Damascus Accord** was short-lived. UN mediations were similarly ineffective, owing to dissent within the Security Council and unwillingness among the groups to comply. The Israeli unilateral withdrawal by June 1985 has not mitigated the attacks by Shi'ites on remaining soldiers, while the return of the PLO nullifies the accomplishments of the last Israeli invasion.

Syria's Assad considers himself the leader and protector of the Palestinians, a role which is resented by Arafat and leaders of other Arab states who prefer Palestinian autonomy. While Israel avers that Syria intends to use Lebanon as a base for an invasion of Israel, Syrians say their troops remain in Lebanon due to the threat of an Israeli return. Such a threat could not be eliminated until the Palestinians have stopped their raids. In turn, these raids can not cease until the whole question of the occupied territories is settled which does not seem imminent.

Most of the Lebanese themselves, except for radical groups like the Shi-'ite Hizbollah, seek the expulsion of the Palestinians whom they blame for all the turmoil, as well as the withdrawal of all Israeli and Syrian troops. They believe they can, with a few minor adjustments in the proportional representation, maintain a successful coalition government, similar to that of Switzerland, and oppose all proposals for partition. Whether or not they will ever achieve this seems to depend on external factors.

Iran-Iraq War

The Gulf War between Iran and Iraq is a matter of grave concern particularly among the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council. They do not fear a direct attack by Iran, but possibly the spread of her Shi'ite revolutionary zeal. In addition, the Iranians have been attacking the oil tankers of Iraqi allies which threatens the primary source of revenue for these countries.

Westerners have speculated that Iraq's President Saddam Hussein decided to invade Iran in 1980 to destroy the Islamic Revolution which had been deliberately exported to Iran, and to replace Iran as the major Gulf power or even as the leader of the Arab world now that Egypt had lost that role. Hussein claims that the conflict started because of Iran's refusal to return Iraqi territory and their subversion campaign targeting Iraq. Iraq initially believed it could have an easy victory: it had superior weapons purchased from abroad, it had the support of most of the Arab world who feared the revolution, Iran had lost the support of both the US and the USSR through its taking of US hostages and persecution of the Communist Tudeh party. Moreover, Iran's Revolutionary Guards were depleted by desertions in addition to being poorly trained and equipped. And finally, the significant decrease in Iranian oil production indicated that Iran could ill-afford a war.

The Iranians defied all expectations, however. Their superior manpower (they have a population of 47 million compared to Iraq's 14 million and it grows by a million annually) combined with an incredible morale assured that by 1982 they were taking the offensive. The war attained some aspects of a *jihad* or holy war which assured emotional appeal. Iranian war casualties are considered martyrs for the faith and the State grants a stipend to their families. Religious imams inspire the warriors on the battlefield and lead them in prayer. Iranians support the Ayatollah's declaration that the war must continue until Hussein is overthrown and the Iraqis have paid reparations. Their support holds despite the rapidly declining Iranian economy, its apparent inability to achieve a decisive victory, the lack of support by other Arab states (barring a half-hearted Syria, Libya and South Yemen), and the massive destruction of cities and industries.

There is no question of this being a rational war when Iranian children are made into soldiers, when Iraqis use chemical warfare, and when both sides bomb each others' cities and torture their prisoners of war. Neither

regime will tolerate any criticism of the war effort so that opposition movements have no chance of survival. Iran made plain its refusal to follow any UN cease-fire resolution that did not directly blame Iraq. As a compromise, the UN put forth on July 20, 1987 resolution 598 condemning the initial aggression as well as the continuation of the conflict and proposed that an impartial body would inquire into responsibility for the conflict. This did not satisfy Iran, and Iraq will not halt hostilities unilaterally.

Some Arab states were initially ambivalent toward Iraq's radical Baathist regime. Persian Gulf states have given Iraq thirty billion dollars in grants and loans, however, since it assumed the defensive in 1982. Saudi Arabia has allowed them to build a pipeline across their territory to replace the Iraqi-Syrian pipeline which the Syrians closed by agreement with Iran. Turkey has widened their Iraqi pipeline. OPEC has agreed that the new seventeen percent reduction in oil production would not be applied to Iran. More countries are openly selling arms to Iraq than to Iran. Many countries oppose the suggestion of an arms embargo to both nations on the reasoning that this would harm Iraq far more since Iran gets its arms illegally anyway. Countries that sell weapons to both sides favor the prolongation of the war for their own economic and political advantage: their arms industries profit, and two radical, unpopular regimes cancel each other out.

According to expert speculation, decisive victory is unlikely for either country for logistical reasons and neither country can afford a war of attrition, yet neither the Ayatollah nor Hussein will be the first to offer peace; the matter is partly one of personal prestige. A successor to either might feel compelled to carry on the effort in their predecessor's honor as well as for the ideological cause.

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NORTH AMERICA

The two countries of North America, Canada and the United States of America, occupy some of the most fertile and productive land in the world. These two countries cover approximately 16 percent of the world's land area and, with a total population of 267 million, is home to 5.4 percent of the world's population. Both are industrialized and highly urbanized. The region's terrain ranges from the flat plains of the central areas to the peaks of the Cascade and Rocky Mountain Ranges and the depths of the Grand Canyon.

Politically, both the United States and Canada share a western tradition of democratic institutions and a pluralistic electoral system. While the US political system is a tri-partite one with three branches of government, the Canadians use a Parliamentary system similar to the United Kingdom. Although, there are only two nations in this region, the importance of each in international affairs is well known. The US is often refered to as a superpower, yet Canada's voice in international forums is loud and clear. Both are very active in all global issues. Through a complex web of bilateral and multilateral relationships, Canada and the US conduct their business in the world. In principle, both share a similar world view as articulated by their respective leaders, President Reagan and Prime Minister Brian Muldoney. The governments of both nations advocate free trade, the promotion of democracy, and a strong defense against a perceived USSR and Warsaw Pact threat.

Regional Organizations

Following the second World War, the United States and Canada decidedly took an active interest in the development of international organizations to promote the peace. Being allies in the war, the relationship between the two countries has remained very stable and cordial. The United Nations Charter

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conference in San Francisco in 1945 was attended by both countries. In addition to the United Nations the US and Canada now actively participate in the **Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development** (**OECD**) which was established in 1948, the **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade** (**GATT**) established in 1948, the **Inter-American Development Bank** (**IDB**) established in 1959, and some of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations system. Canada is also a member of the **British Commonwealth** which ties it to 34 countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Pacific and Europe.

The defense alliance of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (**NATO**) is of the utmost importance to both countries. It links North America to Europe and is the primary agency for the defense of Europe in the event of a Soviet or Warsaw Pact invasion. As it is with most of the present foreign policies of Canada and the US, the primary mutual concern is with Soviet aggression and communism's expansion.

Other defense pacts have been formed by the US along the same lines as NATO but these have been less successful. The **Southeast Asia Treaty Organization** (**SEATO**) established in 1954 by the US, France, UK, Australia, New Zealand, Philippines and Thailand as a defense pact in the region was dissolved in the latter part of the 1970s. The **Australia, New Zealand, US Pact** (**ANZUS**), another defense agreement for the South Pacific, has recently encountered a split in the members over the access of US warships carrying nuclear weapons to New Zealand ports. These defense agreements eminate from US strategic interests developed since the conclusion of World War II. Much of the rationale for developing such arrangements outside of the Western Hemisphere can be traced back to the Cold War period when East-West relationship was very tense. Throughout the post-World War II period, the US activities in the world have consistently been predicated on the state of relations between East and West.

In the western hemisphere, there is one organization in which the US and Canada participate—**The Organization of American States** (**OAS**). The US is a member and Canada holds Permanent Observer status. In this forum, the US maintains strong leadership. However, the turmoil in Latin America and US involvement in this region has limited the role the OAS has played in dealing with the numerous problems of the hemisphere.

Foreign Policy Agenda for North America

The foreign policy agendas for Canada and the US are basically similar. Both share concerns about defense; the debt problem; and the conflicts in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Middle East. Canada's concerns are intrinsically tied to the US but are in no way determined by its superpower neighbor to the South. The bilateral relationship between these two countries,

though stable, has a dynamic worth noting. There is a long history of friction between Canada and the US. Recently, questions of trading practices in lumber, textiles, agricultural products and the steel industries have arisen. In addition, the problem of acid rain has caused heated debates in both the Congress and the House of Commons. This problem has been defused after Reagan and Mulroney met and Reagan committed to reduced US pollutants which cause acid rain. These disputes point out just some of the differences between these countries, predominantly in economic areas.

In a similar way, the US relations with Europe have encountered several problems in the economic field. Trade wars involving agricultural products have been conducted and even now many issues of trade have not been resolved. In addition, the US does not have the full support of the Europeans for its policies toward Latin America and the Middle East. The difficulties in relations among the NATO alliance inside and out of the organization is a constant problem which has only been eased by the potential threat posed by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries to Europe's future.

The East-West conflict is easily the greatest concern to North America. The present positions of President Reagan and Prime Minister Mulroney are basically anti-communist and pro-active in confronting Soviet activities. The US policy of "peace through strength" has resulted in the largest US military build-up ever in peace time. Similarly, Canada has outlined a defense build-up in the 1987 White Paper on National Defense. In addition, the Reagan administration has pursued a controversial policy in strategic nuclear weapons with the implementation of the Strategic Defence Initiative. Perhaps a manifestation of the hard line taken by the US Administration toward the Soviets is the fact that arms control and nuclear disarmament negotiations between the Soviets and the US have not resulted in any agreement between the superpowers, though several initiatives from both sides have been presented. The Canadians, along with the rest of the members of NATO, have been far from enthusiastic about SDI and the tense relations between the Soviets and the US.

The Third World Debt problem is of critical importance to the US because of the staggering amount owed by developing nations to US banks and the debt problem concerns Canada and the Western European nations on similar grounds. This problem, generated from the downturn in the international economy in the latter part of the 1970s and the radical reduction in oil prices in 1986, looms ever larger as developing nations struggle to meet their debt payments. In addition, the slow growth in developing countries' economies make it difficult to carry the debt burden. However, there has been little progress in attacking this problem. The US developed the "Baker Plan" in 1985 which was a blueprint for management of the crisis through increased lending by the World Bank in exchange for economie structural reform in the Least Developed Countries. But, so far the plans for dealing with this problem have not met the challenge and the concerns of both developed and

developing countries increase.

The debt crisis is only a symptom of a larger problem in the international trade and payments system. The US economy, upon which international economy is pegged, has impacted on the economies of other nations. The price of the US dollar, the growing Federal budget deficit, and well over 100 billion dollars trade deficit have had repercussions on the economies of Japan, Western Europe, and most developing countries. Yet, possibilities of addressing this problem more effectively on the multilateral level are likely to occur as the next round of GATT gets underway in Uruguay.

Conflicts around the world (e.g. Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq war, Central America, Southern Africa, etc.) have always concerned the US and Canada. Canada has contributed forces and finances to 16 of the 17 UN Peacekeeping operations over the years and presently has troops in the UN peacekeeping forces in Cyprus, the Golan Heights and the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). The United States, on the other hand, has taken unilateral and multilateral direct action in several disputes since World War II. Most recently, US troops have participated in an international peacekeeping force (independent of the UN) in Southern Lebanon in 1982, intervened in Grenada in 1983, and is providing naval escort to Kuwaiti oil tankers in the Persian Gulf in 1987. In addition, the US is supporting a number of resistance groups in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Kampuchea, and Angola. Reagan has also increased military assistance to Pakistan, Thailand, El Salvador, Honduras, Israel, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia during his Presidency in support of these governments which are threatened either from hostile neighbors or internal resistance groups.

The US-Soviet relationship has experienced some improvement during the Reagan administration. Although, no agreements on strategic nuclear weapons have emerged. The two leaders of the superpowers have met in Geneva and Iceland with commitments from the former meeting to improve cultural relations. The talks between the two countries on nuclear weapons in Geneva remain in stalemate. Offers and counter-offers have been tendered for the reduction of intermediate range ballistic missiles and other nuclear forces. The largest areas of contention are the US Strategic Defence Initiative, which the Soviets vehemently object to, and the status of independent nuclear forces in France and Great Britain.

US foreign policy is difficult to understand because of the enormity of US interests and international relationships. Yet, recent incidents in US foreign affairs have put the Reagan administration itself in a crisis. The Iran-Contra affair has damaged the Administration's efforts to find a solution in either the Middle East or Central America. The long standing ambivalence toward the South African government has also thwarted a resolution of the increasing conflict in Southern Africa. The Reagan Administration's emphasis on security assistance to governments friendly to the US, over the past six years indicates the defense priority of present US policy.

North America and the United Nations

The United States and Canada were both founding members of the UN in 1945. Both had large delegations represented at the San Francisco Conference which gave birth to the UN. Although, Canada has played a significant and important role in the development of the UN and is actively involved in the system, it does not wield the influence or carry the weight which is accorded the United States. The dynamics of the UN system has dramatically shifted from the predominance of US and Western influence in the 1940s and 1950s to the predominance of the Third World agenda since the 1960s. This dynamic has made the milieu in which the US and Canada operate a great deal more complicated and, at times, difficult.

In the UN, Canada and the US do not always see eye to eye. Since the US has taken a more active role in the UN, recently, and because the US is one of the Five Permanent members of the Security Council, there are few issues in the UN not addressed by the US. During the first term of the Reagan Administration, the US Permanent Representative to the UN, Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, introduced a more vocal and determined US stance on many issues in the UN. A new emphasis of combatting Soviet arguments on human rights and condemning the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan were made. A harder line on economic and development issues, and attacks on the UN administration and budget procedures are the enduring legacy of the Kirkpatrick tenure. This was a radical departure from the traditional US approach in the UN, which was less aggressive.

The US under the Reagan administration, has opened up a new offensive in the UN to promote specific concepts in the areas of human rights, economics, and conflict resolution. The present US Ambassador to the UN, General Vernon Walters, has forcefully debated for adoptions of resolutions that emphasize individual rights to "own private property," and recognize the Western position that economic development in Africa and the developing world requires the development of a private sector and an agricultural base. On the human rights front, the US has made a point to raise questions in the Third Committee and in the UN Human Rights Commission about Soviet, Cuban and Nicaraguan human rights abuses in an effort to balance the UN's focus in this area.

An enduring issue that has received US attention in the UN is the Soviet intervention and occupation of Afghanistan. The US has always taken a strong position and continues to lead a campaign to condemn the Soviets on this issue. Other conflicts of importance include the Vietnamese occupation of Democratic Kampuchea, Cuban troops in Angola, and the Iran-Iraq war. In 1987, the US was instrumental in the passage of a cease-fire resolution in the Security Council for the Persian Gulf war and efforts are underway to secure an arms embargo of Iran, if Iran refuses to abide by the Council's resolution 598.

Finally, the US has precipitated a financial and credibility crisis for the

UN when in 1985 and 1986, the Congress withheld nearly half of the US contribution to the UN's budget. This action, after a more dramatic display of discontent with UNESCO by withdrawing from this UN specialized agency in 1984, forced the UN to take drastic measures to avoid going bankrupt. The crisis has accelerated a review of UN management by the United Nations Secretariat and Member States. Reform measures were adopted in 1986 that were designed to address the principle concerns of the larger contributors. The reform package presented by the "Group of 18" called for a new budget process for the UN. "Consensus" on the budget is now required and a dramatic reduction in the size of the Secretariat staff is being implemented. Although reform is underway at the UN, the US withholding of funds has not been well received by many of the Member States of the UN. After the US "won" reforms in the UN's budgeting process and management practices, expectations that the US will fulfill its treaty obligations to pay up its arrearages are prevalent among the other Member States. However, the US Congress is not moving in this direction in the FY 1988 budget. This could have disasterous effects on the US's position and influence in the UN system. In addition, failure to return to full financial participation by the US could stop the UN reform effort dead in its tracks. This would be a major blow to one of the more vital concerns the US had about the UN and would leave the reform initiative of the US and other Western nations stillborn.

Canada, on the other hand, has a somewhat different agenda for the UN. A supporter of the reform of the UN, Canada has concentrated on improving the image of the UN. Canadian Permanent Representative to the UN, Ambassador Stephen Lewis, has spoken eloquently in defense of the UN before its critics in the US and abroad. The primary concerns of the Canadian government in the UN follow a path similar to the US, but with a degree of difference in priority. Canada has consistently been a leader in environmental and global resource management issues. It helped initiate the World Commission on Environment and Development which conducted a three year study of the condition of the world environment, its future and the impact development is and will have on it. The Commission was established in 1983 and two Canadians served on it.

Canada has been vocal on the issues of increased support to Developing Countries, the rights of women, the elimination of *apartheid* in South Africa, human rights violations in Central America and Afghanistan, refugees, the Law of the Sea, disarmament and arms control, and terrorism. Canada has maintained a very positive and cordial position vis-a-vis most of the other Member States of the UN and is highly respected by them.

Where Canada and the US strongly agree are on disarmament questions. The US initiative in the UN for a ban on chemical weapons was strongly supported by Canada. In addition, nuclear and conventional weapons reduction and disarmament were both addressed similarly by these two countries. The main position of the US is that the only way to have effective disarmament is through stringent verification procedures. Canada agrees with this

formula, but does not necessarily always agree on the specifics. Overall, Canada and the US work well together in the complex politics of the UN. The relationship is tempered only by minor differences in approach.

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WESTERN EUROPE

Western Europe can be divided into several geographical blocks. First there are the Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden; second, we have the west-side of Europe, the countries on the Atlantic shore: Belgium, France, Great Britain, Ireland, Luxembourg and the Netherlands; third, there is the Iberian Peninsula, with Spain and Portugal; fourth, the central part of Western Europe: Austria, Switzerland and West-Germany; and fifth, the southern part of the continent, which contains Greece, Italy and Turkey. These states together occupy about 4,400 square kilometers and have a total population of over 400,000,000.

Western Europe is largely enclosed by natural boundaries. To the North, there is the Arctic; to the West, the Atlantic Ocean; and, to the south, the Mediterranean. To the East however, the boundary is formed by Eastern Europe, the imaginary "Iron Curtain." This boundary has been created rather recently—after World War II—and plays an important role in determining Western European political relations and cooperation.

Besides the countries mentioned in the preceding description of the geographical blocks in Western Europe, there are several other smaller states. First, there are two independent islands in the Mediterranean: Malta and Cyprus. Then there is Gibraltar, at the most southern point of the Iberian Peninsula. As Gibralter is a British Crown Colony, it is linked to most international organizations only through the participation of Great Britain. At the other end of the Peninsula, there is a little mountain state, in the Pyrenees, called Andorra. Although it is an independent principality, it is ruled by two "co-princes," the President of the Republic of France and the Bishop of Urgell, in Spain.

Then there are the Principality of Monaco, on the shore of the Mediterranean, closely linked to France; the Principality of Liechtenstein, which has close relations with Switzerland; and the independent Republic of San Marino, an enclave in Italy that is closely tied to its surrounding neighbor. These countries have their own constitutions, but due to their size, both in surface and in population, they are generally linked to their "big" neighbors. Finally, we have the Vatican City State, the residence of the Pope, the head of the

Roman Catholic Church. The Holy See is the sovereign over this little remainder, one square kilometer in the middle of Rome, of the large lands once owned by the Papal state.

Regional Organizations

Western Europe has always played an important role in the world. Especially since the Renaissance, peoples and sovereigns of Western European nations and territories have tried to dominate the world, sometimes with considerable success, if one looks at the vast colonial empires that once existed. However, wars have torn the European continent from time to time, often as a result of the struggle for world hegemony. After the Second World War, in which the fascist regimes of Nazi Germany and Mussolini's Italy destroyed a

good part of the continent and its resources, there was a growing tendency towards cooperation between the nations in Western Europe. One of the first steps in this direction was the creation of the United Nations, to which all European nations, with the exception of Switzerland, are devoted members.

Another sign of possible cooperation was the institution of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation in 1948, which later became the **Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development** (**OECD**). This organization was founded in order to promote the best possible allocation of the funds donated through the US Marshall Plan, a plan for the reconstruction of the shattered economies of Western Europe after World War II.

Then, in 1949, the **Council of Europe** was founded. The goal of this organization, which has 18 members, was the discussion, in several different bodies of common interests and problems. It also tried to find new ways and create new fields of cooperation between its member states. One of the most important bodies of the Council of Europe is the Committee of Ministers, which has biennial meetings and is usually made up of ministers of foreign affairs.

A major breakthrough in international cooperation in Western Europe occurred in 1950, often referred to as "the birthday" of the European Communities. In that year, the **European Coal and Steel Community** was founded and in early 1951, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands signed the establishing agreement that guaranteed close cooperation in this industry. Already plans were made to extend this cooperation into other areas of economic, political and defense issues. The Treaties of Rome, concluded in 1957, led to the establishment of the **European Economic Community** (**EEC**) and the **European Atomic Energy Community** (**Euratom**). Together with the ECSC these organizations form the constitution of the **European Community** (**EC**), an unprecedented form of international cooperation between sovereign states. And, of course such an organization soon attracted other members besides the six founding members.

As soon as 1961, three more nations filed applications for membership: Ireland, Denmark and the United Kingdom. However, unforeseen problems delayed their accession until the beginning of 1973. Greece had signed an agreement on economic approachment in 1961, but had to wait, due to internal political crises, until 1975 before it could file its final application. The result was that on January 1, 1981, the EC was enlarged with its tenth member, Greece. Both Spain and Portugal filed their applications in 1977, but had to wait until 1986, when the EC was finally ready for further southward expansion. So, as of January 1, 1986, the EC stood at twelve members, and was still growing. Turkey has applied for membership. Norway was considering joining but its population voted against accession to the EC in a national referendum.

The establishment of the EC, and its gradual development, show the importance of international cooperation for the Western European countries.

The main objectives of the early organization were expansion of economic markets and higher standards of living, which were to be achieved by a union of the peoples of Europe. To attain this goal, the member nations must agree on the four "great freedoms": free movement of persons, goods, services and capital. Another goal was the creation of a common foreign policy towards non-members of the EC. However, the first attempt at a political union failed, because the smaller BENELUX nations, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, feared that their policies might become dominated by those of the larger member states. Also, the ideals of a customs union and a single market have not been fully realized even today, as there are still plenty of customs controls and other border formalities.

The EC has several institutions. The formation of a single Commission and a single Council took place in 1967, when the ECSC, the EEC and Euratom merged into the European Community. The main institutional framework consists of the Council of Ministers, the Commission, the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice.

To start with the first institution, the **Council of Ministers,** this is the decision-making body of the EC. Each country is represented by its minister in the particular issue-area that is discussed, and, while consensus is required for some issues (i.e. in the field of foreign policy), there is a voting key, that gives the larger states more votes, for other issues. In contrast with this body, there is the **Commission,** a body made up of 17 members, two from Germany, France, Italy and Great Britain and one from each of the other nations, loyal to the EC and not to their nations. This body is the executive branch of the EC.

Thirdly, there is the **European Parliament,** which is made up of politicians from all members states, chosen by their own countries. The number of representatives from the nations is according to a distribution-key: the larger nations have more representatives than the smaller ones. It is important to note that this parliament has not legislative power, and is primarily an organ of public participation. Finally, the work of the **European Court of Justice** does not need any further explanation, as it functions in a similar way to the UN's International Court of Justice.

This high level of cooperation between sovereign member states is unique. But it is seen as a vital necessity for the European states. Some people believe that the survival and maintenance of the position and power of Europe in the world depends largely upon the level of cooperation between the European states. Without each other, the states of the European Community would not have as much power, with the few exceptions of Germany, France and Great Britain, in both economic and political fields.

The EC is also, together with two other Western European agencies, devoted to high-tech research, especially in aerospace and satellite communication technology. The European Space Agency (ESA) and the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN) have both EC and non-EC members in its membership, thus creating large-scale cooperation on these

issues. This cooperation, in order to keep up with the US and the Soviet Union, is also aimed at making Western Europe less dependent on the US in the future.

Another way of getting less dependent on the US, was the creation of the **European Currency Unit (ECU).** The ECU came into existence in 1979, the year in which the European Monetary System (EMS) was created. Since 1979, the ECU, a currency whose value is determined by a currency basket of the member states' currencies, has become a strong factor on the international capital markets. Payments in ECUs, mostly by governments and by the EC itself, are made both within and outside the EC, and more and more investors are discovering the ECU's possibilities. However, the ECU is not a concrete currency that can be held in the hand, but is only to be found on the books of the National Banks.

Another very important issue for the EC is development aid for nations both inside and outside the EC. A major step in the direction of better relations between the 12 and the Third World, using more adequate aid programs, was the signing of the **Lomé** (the capital city of Togo, in Africa) **Convention.** This treaty clearly led to a higher level of cooperation between EC countries and 65 countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, the so-called ACP countries.

The international cooperation within the European Commission may be unique, but there are other regional organizations in Western Europe. One of these is the **European Free Trade Association** (EFTA) of which Norway, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, Switzerland and Austria comprise the membership. Today the existence of this organization is a result of the neutralist policies of some of these countries. They do not want to become a part of the EC because they do not want to bind themselves to the economic union and other forms of strong economic integration that are advocated by the EC. However, the relationship between the EC and the EFTA is close and there is much economic and commercial activity between the two organizations.

Another regional organization is the **BENELUX,** which consists of *Bel*gium, the *Ne*therlands and *Lux*embourg. These small, but important nations have combined their powers and created a nearly perfect customs union. This means that there are no checks at the borders between these nations, and that people and goods can pass freely. This is something the EC sought to establish, too, but, the EC still has very strictly enforced customs regulations to deal with. Actually, conflicts between some EC nations have arisen because of customs regulations against one nation's produce, for example between Italy and France over pork meat.

The BENELUX, an organization within an organization, works closely together with the EC and so does the **Western European Union** (WEU). This latter organization, consisting of seven members, Great Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and the BENELUX nations, was very important at the time Great Britain was not a member of the EC but since Britain joined the EC the WEU lost some of its significance.

Finally, it has to be noted that there is also a high level of economic and political cooperation among the five Nordic states. They established the **Nordic Council,** in order to coordinate their technical and economic activities and to improve political cooperation. However, political integration is not an issue for these five nations as there is one very clear conflict of interest among them: three of the five are members of NATO, while Sweden and Finland are both neutral. Sweden is neutral out of its own will, whereas Finland is more or less compelled to be neutral by its mighty neighbor, the Soviet Union.

Another very clear example of regional cooperation in Western Europe is the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO). This organization, founded by the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949, has as its main function: "To maximize the ability of members individually and collectively to resist any armed attack upon the territory of any member or a member's occupation force in the North Atlantic area and to provide means of political cooperation and consultation and economic collaboration among members." Its members are: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany (1955), Great Britain, Greece (1952), Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain (1982), Turkey (1952) and the United States of America.

NATO is a military organization, but it has a clearly defensive character. According to the Treaty, NATO will only use force as a reaction to an attack on one of its members' territory or one of its member's occupation forces. In other words, NATO will never attack first. In case of an attack on one of its member states, this attack will be regarded as an act of aggression on all, and, therefore, all nations have the obligation, under the Treaty, to take up arms collectively against the aggressor.

The United States is the dominant member of NATO, as it has the most advanced military equipment and the most money invested in the collective security provision for not only Western Europe, but for the maintenance of peace in the Western World as a whole. However, a large share of the financial burden, and especially of the manpower on the continent necessary for the collective security arrangements are taken up by the European states themselves, with Great Britain and West Germany as leaders. NATO headquarters is situated in Brussels, the capital of Belgium, and it coordinates all NATO exercise maneuvres and other activities.

The main importance of NATO for the Western European nations and their allies is that the organization is a counterweight against the Warsaw Pact, the military alliance of the East Bloc countries, under the leadership of the Soviet Union. One aspect that shows how important this particular function is, is the presence of many American and other NATO forces in West Germany to guard and to protect the border between East and West Germany.

This armed force is there for the sole purpose of preventing war and protecting the West from a surprise attack by the Warsaw Pact.

Recently, there have been some anti-NATO tensions in some of the member states. Parts of the population protest against the deployment of new US medium-range nuclear missiles, and this has led to, for example, a referendum in Spain, in which just over half of the population voted to remain a member of NATO.

Another aspect that slightly undermines the solidarity in the organization is the fact that both Great Britain and France have their own nuclear forces. The implications of this are clear in the disarmament negotiations between the US and the USSR in Geneva, where these two nations do not have any jurisdiction over the French and British nuclear missiles. It is argued that the presence of these European nuclear forces is beneficial for the spread of power within NATO and also gives the organization a strong image to the outside world.

It may be clear that the extent of economic and military cooperation in Western Europe is very high; uniquely high for sovereign, self-determining nation states. There is a strong economic cooperation in the EC, and through a close relationship between the EC and the EFTA, and through other organizations like OECD and the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the regional economic commission under supervision of the United Nations' Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), most major European nations work together in the economic and commercial fields.

Many nations also are involved in collective security efforts (NATO), and in collective research efforts, like ESA and CERN. It has often been argued that this high level of international cooperation in the Western European region is a vital necessity for survival of the relatively small Western European nations. None of these countries are powerful enough, economically and militarily, to survive on its own. Although there are sometimes tensions between the larger and the smaller European states, because the smaller ones feel dominated by the larger, they all recognize that cooperation is necessary for survival, and the more cooperation, the better off every nation will be.

Western Europe and the United Nations

Many of the European countries have been members of the United Nations since the organization's very beginning (1945). Most others followed shortly after and by 1955 all of them, with the exception of Switzerland and West Germany, were members of the United Nations. The Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) had to wait until 1973 to be admitted, while Switzerland, for reasons of complete neutrality never became a member of the UN, even though it offers conference facilities to the organization. From the very beginning, the Western European nations have played prominent roles in the UN.

Together, the Western European nations pay 33.45% (as of June 1985) of the UN's regular budget. If we take into consideration those nations' voluntary contributions to other UN related specialized agencies or programs, this figure will certainly come out even higher. So, twenty nations, including Cyprus and Malta, contribute over a third of the UN's budget.

But, it is not the amount of money contributed that gives the Western European nations a prominent position in the UN. There are several other factors as to why these countries play such an important part in the organization. First, there is the fact that both Great Britain—its official UN name is The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland—and France are Permanent Members of the Security Council. This gives them the right to veto matters that are delicate to their national interests, which sometimes coincides with those of their European allies.

Second, there is the strong representation of Western European nations in the various committees, specialized agencies and boards of other UN programs. Most of these countries have large and adequate delegations at the UN so that they can participate fully, in every important meeting, on every relevant topic. Their strong representation in the specialized agencies of the UN, like the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), and many others also shows their commitment to attempt to deal with all major problems in the world. This is in contrast to other nations that may have understaffed missions and, therefore, are not able to be represented at all meetings.

Third, there is the focus of some nations on particular issues that are of the highest relevance to them, especially if humanitarian issues are concerned, the UN never calls in vain upon these nations to take adequate measures, sometimes in the form of financial and sometimes in the form of material support. Countries like Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Netherlands and West Germany have long been known for their efforts in humanitarian relief issues, and many refugees have found their way to these nations.

The first years of the UN were characterized by the decolonization process. After World War II, the nationalist feelings of the peoples in the colonial empires rose. At the expense of the imperialist powers, Great Britain, France, Portugal, Netherlands, Belgium and others, Asia, Africa and Latin America were decolonized, thus rapidly enlarging the number of nations available to become Member States of the UN. Another result was the creation of two opposed blocks in world politics: the North and the South. The former consists of industrialized nations, while the latter consists of the newly created, decolonized countries in the Third World.

The so-called North-South debate, a conflict of opinions rooted in a historical distaste for colonialism and imperialism from the side of the former colonies, is, however, not the only international conflict in the United Nations. There is an even more clear-cut conflict between East and West. The Western countries—Western Europe, US, Canada, Israel, Japan, Australia and New Zealand—are often opposed by the Socialist/Communist

countries—China, Cuba, Soviet Union and its satellite nations—that usually have the support of most of the Third World nations.

The fact that the Third World nations, most of which were colonies in earlier times, often oppose the West shows that the North-South debate is deeply rooted. In fact, it has led to some major conflicts of a political nature within the UN, because many representatives of Third World nations (the South), use the UN to criticize the developed nations. On the other hand, the developing nations try to stay on friendly terms with the North, because the developed countries (the Western nations) provide the bulk of the development aid. The Third World thus creates a double standard, which is a thorn in the side of the Western world.

That double standard had led to a major conflict between North and South in the United Nations. Recently, many of the major contributors to the UN do not feel obliged anymore to contribute to specific parts of the UN's budget. This is the result of the budgetary procedures of the UN. The budget is determined every two years, and needs only a two-thirds majority to be adopted. This means that the budget can easily be dictated by the South because it has a larger majority.

Clearly, this is a hot issue for the Western European nations and for the developed world as a whole, as they begin to perceive that they do not have control over what their money is spent on. This led to the ridiculous situation of the last few years in which many of the Northern nations that provide over 90% of the UN's budget vote against the proposed budget, or abstain. Still, these nations are a small minority and are easily out voted by the South.

On the other hand, many of the Western European countries, especially the Scandinavians and the Dutch, place development high among their priorities. One may expect, if the UN fails to get out of the above mentioned impasse, that these countries will increasingly refer to bilateral aid. Increased bilateral aid will most likely decrease the funds given to the multilateral aid programs of the UN.

Overall, the twelve nations of the European Community provide one third of the world's official development assistance, be it bilaterally or multilaterally. Through the Lomé Convention, for example, the EC is strongly associated with 65 countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, thus increasing and facilitating the trade and development of these Third World nations.

In general, the EC has good trading relations with the Third World. For example, they oppose any attempt calling for trade barriers, because they perceive free trade to be essential for the future development of newly or non-industrialized nations. Therefore, at the latest round of negotiations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the European nations strongly opposed protectionism. They see that a spiral of retaliatory protectionist measures would have disastrous effects on world trade, in particular for the Third World.

Most Western European nations are active in the field of human rights,

and, therefore, donate a lot of money to human rights programs. Most violations of human rights are recorded and renounced by these countries in the United Nations. Throughout the years, the human rights situation in the world has seemingly improved, due to the great efforts of many Western, not necessarily only the European, nations.

Another important issue for the Western European nations is the solution of armed conflicts all over the world. For example, the issues of Afghanistan and Kampuchea can always count on strong stands from the Western nations against the aggressors (with the exception of Finland, which usually abstains in matters in which the Soviet Union is directly involved). However, there is one conflict, close to home, which is of crucial importance to Europe: Cyprus.

The situation in Cyprus, an island in the Mediterranean, off the coast of Turkey, has been on the agenda of the UN for at least two decades, and there is no realistic hope that the conflict will be resolved in the near future. This conflict, between the Greek Cypriot community on the island and the Greeks from Greece on the one hand, and the Turkish Cypriot community and the Turks from mainland Turkey on the other, is especially painful to the European nations, especially since Greece is a member of the EC and Turkey might well have aspirations to join the EC in the future.

But, there is one even more important underlying factor that makes this conflict of such high importance, especially since a solution of the problem is not foreseen in the short run. This factor is that both Turkey and Greece, supporting their respective communities on Cyprus, are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The Turks with their strategic position as the only NATO-member on the Soviet border, and with the Bosporus, the gate to the Black Sea, and Russia's entrance to the Mediterranean, are of the utmost importance to the Western collective defense alliance. The Greeks, due to their strategic position on the Balkan, have important function, too. If the conflict on Cyprus escalates, and these two countries decide to intervene and help their respective communities, two NATO members will be fighting each other, thus creating a huge dilemma for the other members of NATO.

On some of the other issues that are dealt with in the UN: the question of Palestine, the situation in the Middle East, *apartheid,* and the question of Namibia, the Western European nations are somewhat more divided.

In the Middle East, Western European nations want negotiations between Israel, the Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organization to create an agreement for recognizing each other's rights. They perceive that there are probably no military solutions that could be acceptable to those involved with the conflict. Overall, however, most Western European nations support Israel, while urging Israel to participate in any negotiations that may lead to a solution to the conflict.

On the issues of *apartheid,* there seems to be a bit more division. Although all nations in Western Europe have expressed their disgust about the

policies of the government of South Africa in regard to *apartheid*, they have different opinions on how to abolish the racially discriminating and segregating system. The EC has collectively taken some restrictive measures that were designed to impress the South African government of the need for fundamental reform in the near future. They adopted sanctions against trade with South Africa in iron, steel, gold coins, arms, paramilitary equipment and oil. Also, there is a ban on new investments in South Africa and on cooperation in nuclear issues. The other Western European nations, individually, have sanctions against South Africa, as well.

The voting records in the United Nations show that there is no real consensus within Western Europe on how to resolve this problem. South Africa is supported most frequently by the US, the United Kingdom and West Germany. The only country of Western Europe that clearly falls out of line in this issue is Turkey. It is clear that in many issues Turkey does not vote along with the West. Although it is a very strategically situated NATO-member with direct borders on the Soviet Union, and it has applied for membership in the EC, it is historically the least 'European' state of all.

After this description of some slight division among the members of Western Europe, a look at their voting patterns in relations to the other blocs and alliances is in order. The General Assembly is dominated by the Third World nations, the Non-Aligned Movement (Group of 77), often supported by the socialist nations. This majority is so strong that resolutions opposed by Western nations are easily blocked. Therefore all resolutions that are passed by the General Assembly concerning South Africa and Israel are always condemning these particular nations and some of their allies in the West. It may not be surprising that this has led to tremendous frustration of the Western nations, as they see one resolution after the other being adopted against their will. Only on issues like Afghanistan and Kampuchea, do they seem to have the GA on their side in condemning the aggressor.

This frustration of the Western nations is even clearer in the present financial crisis of the United Nations. It is obvious that if the GA is dominated by Third World nations, they will also dominate the program planning for the budget of the Organization. The budget proposals have to be adopted by the General Assembly after consideration in the Fifth Committee, the budgetary and administrative committee of the GA, with a two-thirds majority. As the Third World has a usual majority of over 120 nations (out of 159) it is no problem to push whatever programs they want through. One ironic point is that in the votes regarding the budget proposals the Western nations often are supported by the East.

The nations most clearly appalled by the dictation of the budget by the Third World are the United States and the United Kingdom. They are often supported by Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the Eastern European nations. Most other Western European nations, like the Nordic countries, Ireland, Austria and Greece, together with the other Western nations, Canada, Australia, New

Zealand, etc. vote in favor of the budget. However, when these nations vote against the budget (or abstain) it can be construed that those nations which provide nearly 70% of the budget do not agree with the way their money is spent.

This situation has led to withholdings of assessed contributions, especially by the US, which created a large shortage of cash-flow and consequently brought the UN to the edge of bankruptcy. In this context, the Permanent Representative of Japan to the UN introduced a resolution (GA (40/237) in 1985 at the Fortieth Session of the General Assembly, in which he asked for the establishment of an expert commission to look into the organization. And, in accordance with this resolution from the General Assembly, the *Group of High-Level Intergovernmental Experts to Review the Efficiency of the Administrative and Financial Functioning of the United Nations* was established. This so-called **Group of 18** reported to the General Assembly at its Forty-first Session and made some far-reaching recommendations.

One set of recommendations was focused on strengthening the efficiency of the Organization. Therefore, in light of the financial crisis, it was advocated to reduce the number of regular posts in the Secretariat by 15% and the posts of Under- and Assistant Secretaries-General by 25% over the next three years. This was in accordance with many complaints that the Organization was "top-heavy." These reduction measures, adopted by conse planin the Group of 18, are strongly favored by the Western nations, while the Third World complains that it might loose equity in geographical distribution, due to less recruitments. Other recommendations referring to the strengthening of the Secretariat's efficiency and effectiveness were also adopted by concensus in the Group of 18.

However, the most controversial part of the Report affects the program planning and other budgetary procedures. According to the Report, there are three versions of reform. All three call for earlier participation of nations in the actual program planning, but there is a difference on how the decisions regarding the budget are to be taken. The Western nations, with some expectations, are strongly in favor of a procedure in which these decisions are made by concensus. This means that whenever one member state in the **Committee for Programme and Coordination** (**CPC**), which prepares the budget, strongly disagrees with proposals, it can block them. This is, of course, in contrast to the present procedure in which the majority is the deciding factor. The new mechanism would allegedly create a "covert veto," as nations can, by not giving their consent, i.e. by voting negative (abstaining is not counted as a negative vote), block the whole procedure. The reason the Western nations like this consensus decision-making procedure is because it will give them more influence over how the money they provide is spent.

This issue may be an indication of the astonishingly high level of political cooperation among the member states of the European Community. The countries are all more or less in agreement on many different topics, and,

therefore, they have one spokesperson for all twelve nations (in order to promote uniformity within the EC and to discourage repetitive speeches in the UN). The nation that provides the spokesperson is the nation that has the current presidency of the EC, which rotates every six months during a particular session of the GA. For example, during the Forty-first Session (1986), the spokesperson was the permanent representative of the United Kingdom. The Ambassador of the UK often intervenes or makes speeches "on behalf of the European Community and its twelve members." Even on issues in which their policies are not identical, this practice is still used. First a speech is given "on behalf of the EC and its twelve members," and then nations with dissenting opinions can make statements themselves explaining their different position on the topic.

Of course, the EC is not the only block of nations that uses a common spokesman. The Nordic countries often combine their voices on specific issues, and so do the Eastern-Bloc nations. The reason for this combination of voices is quite clear: it enhances the effectiveness and the impact of the intervention, as the other nations will know that this statement is backed up by the whole group.

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VOTING RECORDS OF SELECTED RESOLUTIONS OF THE 42ND UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Between September and December of 1987, the United Nations General Assembly adopted 228 resolutions and 79 decisions. We have reproduced here, in an abbreviated form, several resolutions that are representative of the work of the major committees of the General Assembly. These resolutions are intended to give the Model UN delegate a brief, yet broad, understanding of how the General Assembly addressed topics of contemporary importance in its most recent session.

The selection of these resolutions was based on the substantive character of the resolution and the particular style of each. However, they do not purport necessarily to represent the Assembly's most important decisions. As a delegate, the Model UN student should carefully examine the language and format of these resolutions, and use them in preparing to write resolutions and to evaluate the resolutions in the Model UN conference. Most importantly, the delegates should be aware that behind-the-scenes negotiating and a trend toward consensus-building have diminished the significance of recorded votes. The most successful resolutions are those that are adopted without a vote. The voting record chart, at the end of this section, will give you a sense of the actual voting patterns of Member States.

Analyses of the resolutions were written to help delegates in representing their assigned countries' positions at Model UN conferences. They are based on the verbatim records of debates and explanations of votes in the General Assembly and committees, but are very brief and general. These analyses are only starting points for further research in your preparation. Model UN groups can order the complete set of resolutions adopted during the 42nd General Assembly from the Public Inquiries Unit of the UN (Press Release GA/7612, 13 January 1988).

Vote totals at the top of each resolution are listed in the following order: in favor — against — abstaining.

42/15. The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security

Date: 10 November 1987
Vote: 123-19-11

The General Assembly,...

Recalling its resolutions ES-6/2 of 14 January 1980, 35/37 of 20 November 1980, 36/34 of 18 November 1981, 37/37 of 29 November 1982, 38/29 of 23 November 1983, 39/13 of 15 November 1984, 40/12 of 13 November 1985 and 41/33 of 5 November 1986,

Reaffirming the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the obligation of all States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of any State,

Reaffirming further the inalienable right of all peoples to determine their own form of government and to choose their own economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever,

Gravely concerned at the continuing foreign armed intervention in Afghanistan, in contravention of the above principles, and its serious implications for international peace and security,

Noting the increasing concern of the international community over the continued and serious sufferings of the Afghan people and over the magnitude of social and economic problems posed to Pakistan and Iran by the presence on their soil of millions of Afghan refugees, and the continuing increase in their numbers,

Deeply conscious of the urgent need for a political solution of the grave situation in respect of Afghanistan,...

Recognizing the importance of the initiatives of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the efforts of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for a political solution of the situation in respect of Afghanistan,

1. *Reiterates* that the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan is essential for a peaceful solution of the problem;

2. *Reaffirms* the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever;

3. *Calls* for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan;

4. *Calls upon* all parties concerned to work for the urgent achievement of a political solution, in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution, and the creation of the necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour;

5. *Renews its appeal* to all States and national and international organizations to continue to extend humanitarian relief assistance with a view to alleviating the hardship of the Afghan refugees, in coordination with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees;

6. *Expresses its appreciation and support* for the efforts and constructive steps taken by the Secretary-General, especially the diplomatic process initiated by him, in the search for a solution to the problem;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue those efforts with a view to promoting a political solution, in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution, and the exploration of securing appropriate guarantees for the non-use of force, or threat of force, against the political independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of all neighbouring States, on the basis of mutual guarantees and strict non-interference in each other's internal affairs and with full regard for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations;...

ANALYSIS

The issue of self-determination is the main focus of the 9th Afghanistan resolution sponsored by developing countries around the world.

Pakistan, affected most directly by the Afghan civil war, blamed the Soviet Union for the current refugee situation. The accusation was backed by such countries as Kuwait, Senegal, Comoros, Colombia and the United Kingdom. Afghanistan, supported by the Soviet Union and its allies, stated that Resolution 42/15 was drafted without their input and therefore was invalid. They continued by accusing the United States of arming Pakistan in order to fuel the mujahadeen and overthrow a just government. Contenders to the Kabul regime cite the Afghan rebels' undeniable resolve to be free of Soviet occupation. Singapore, France, Denmark, India and their respective groups called for the immediate removal of foreign troops so that the Soviets, as well as the Afghans, could escape the downward spiral this conflicts represents.

42/160 Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Population of the Occupied Territories

Date: 8 December 1987
Vote: 111-2-36

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 38/79 A of 15 December 1983, 39/95 A of 14 December 1984, 40/161 A of 16 December 1985 and 41/63 A of 3 December 1986,

Taking note of the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories,

Taking note also of the report of the Secretary-General of 10 August 1987,

1. *Calls upon* Israel to release all Arabs arbitrarily detained or imprisoned as a result of their struggle for self-determination and for the liberation of their territories,

2. *Notes* the initial release of Palestinian prisoners on 20 May 1985;

3. *Deplores* the Israeli subsequent arbitrary detention or imprisonment of hundreds of Palestinians, and demands that the Government of Israel, the occupying Power, rescind its action against the detainees and imprisoned Palestinians and release them immediately;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly as soon as possible but not later than the beginning of its forty-third session on the implementation of the present resolution.

ANALYSIS

The report of the Special Commission to investigate Israeli practices in the occupied territories inspired a heated debate in which the Socialist Bloc and the Arab League led an attack on Israeli practices in the West Bank. Sri Lanka, which sponsored the report, said that even though they were not allowed inside the conflict area, they were sure that the Israeli occupation denied the Palestinians of their rights. Jordan, together with Denmark, Tunisia, the U.A.E. and the Sudan, condemned the "iron fist" policy that interfered with the education and religion of the Palestinian people. The observer delegation of the PLO, backed by German Democratic Republic, the Ukraine, Oman, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Albania, Libya, Malaysia, Bangladesh, and Cuba, called the Israeli actions a flagrant violation of the 4th Geneva Convention of 1959. They stated that Israel was determined to destroy the political, economic, and social structure of Palestine. This large group of states, except for Albania, went on to accuse the United States of officially and unofficially encouraging Israel. Albania blamed both the United States and the Soviet Union for the conflict. Egypt and Syria attacked Israeli actions in Lebanon, as well as in the occupied territories, equating them with crimes done by the Nazis. Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Bahrain and Pakistan suggested that the Special Commission was not allowed into the West Bank because Israel knew their actions were in violation of every law in every free country in the world. China, Vietnam, Kuwait, Austria, Indonesia and Iraq called for a stronger international response to force Israel to terminate all military actions in the occupied territories. Israel, without the support of the United States or its allies, unsuccessfully tried to defend itself by citing discrepancies in the Commission's report and accusing its attackers of siding with a terrorist organization — the PLO.

42/165. International economic security

Date: 11 December 1987
Vote: 119-10-20

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI) of 1 May 1974, containing the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, 3281 (XXIX) of 12 December 1974, containing the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, and 35/56 of 5 December 1980, the annex to which contains the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade,

Bearing in mind the Final Act of the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development,

Recalling its resolutions 40/173 of 17 December 1985 and 41/184 of 8 December 1986, as well as Economic and Social Council decision 1987/162 of 8 July 1987,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on a concept of international economic security,

Reaffirming that cooperation among all countries should be based on respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of each State, and on the right of the people of each country to choose freely their own social, economic and political system,

Convinced that the efforts of States to cooperate in all areas of economic activity contribute to the reinforcement of international peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and recalling, in this connection, the Final Document of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development,

Further convinced of the need to strengthen the United Nations and the United Nations system to achieve the purposes set out in the Charter of the United Nations, in particular in Article 55, and to create conditions of stability, well-being and economic and social progress, and to promote the development of developing countries,

Recognizing that the increasing complexity of the interrelated issues of money, finance, external debt, trade, commodities and development calls for a universal, more comprehensive and continuing dialogue to address these issues on the basis of common interest, equality, non-discrimination and collective responsibility and to the mutual benefit of all countries,

Aware that both national and international policies should be growth-oriented and mutually reinforcing in order to make interdependence, in contrast to the experience of the recent past, a vehicle for transmitting and cumulating positive impulses and benefits for all countries, with special emphasis on the development needs of developing countries,

Reiterating that the alleviation of the most urgent economic problems of developing countries is a major factor in ensuring international economic stability and a better political climate,

Calling for the reinforcement of multilateral cooperation in promoting a common understanding and determining practical approaches and measures to deal with problems of growth, development, in particular of developing countries, and other international economic issues,

Recognizing that the strengthening of cooperation within the United Nations system, including its operational activities, would help to create a more predictable and more supportive international economic environment and increase confidence in international economic relations designed to bring about a healthy, secure and equitable future for the world economy,

Reaffirming that regional and subregional economic integration could in appropriate cases serve as an essential element in strengthening economic and technical cooperation, in particular in the sphere of science and technology for development, as it contributes to a more predictable international economic environment,...

2. *Emphasizes* that the Charter of the United Nations provides a basis for the conduct of relations among States in a manner that would promote the shared objective of revitalizing development, growth and international trade in a more predictable and supportive environment through multilateral cooperation and thus also promote peace, security and stability;

3. *Expresses* its conviction that the search for international economic security should be based on a constructive, universal, more comprehensive and continued dialogue within the United Nations and the United Nations system aimed at developing practical approaches and measures that contribute to improvements in the international economic system through reform and strengthening of the framework of principles and rules governing trade, monetary and financial relations within which countries operate;

4. *Recognizes* that the United Nations should make a greater contribution to the efforts of Governments to improve their capacity to manage the interrelationships among different economies and the linkages between various sectors and issues;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in monitoring the development of international and multilateral economic cooperation, to continue his efforts to enhance the United Nations capacity to focus on current and potential problem areas in the world economy in order to assist Governments in taking concerted measures, in particular to solve development problems of developing countries;

6. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to consult with eminent persons representing all regions on principles of international economic security in the light of the present resolution, keeping in mind the existing mandates on development and international economic cooperation, and to submit the findings thereon to the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session through the Economic and Social Council.

ANALYSIS

The need to stabilize the world economy in the wake of growing interdependence of national economies is an issue each major group saw as a primary obstacle to world order. Denmark stressed that a country is affected by the economy of another state almost as much as it is affected by its own. The financial growth of 2.5% was not heralded as a great achievement for the world economy but rather, was viewed as the result of underdevelopment, energy, housing, food and environmental problems, according to the Soviet Union. China echoed these beliefs and added that economic development could come to pass if the industrialized states acted on the multilateral level as opposed to national standards.

Several methods of stabilizing the world economy came before the second committee. The reduction of the world currency imbalance and a reconstruction of the world monetary system were suggested by the European Community and the Soviet Union. More rapid economic growth over a long period of time and the regulation of the imports and exports of industrialized nations were called for by France and China. The single largest obstacle in international economic security is the one trillion dollar debt. The Commonwealth Group, the Arab League, the Asian-African Group and the Western Europeans cited the debt of the developing countries as a major threat to economic stability. Uruguay called for the Latin American Group to cooperate in the field of economic development to insure the survival of the area. Guyana stressed that the credibility of debtor nations and the elimination of trade barriers go hand in hand with world debt. Qatar and Egypt urged the member states to bring about a new economic order starting with the initiation of the work called for in the resolution on Action for African Economic Recovery. The Soviet Union and Japan have taken steps toward this new economic order by means of Soviet contributions to the UN and the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and a twenty billion dollar recycling project to assist developing nations, initiated by Japan.

42/36 Reduction of military budgets

Date: 30 November 1987
Adopted without a vote

The General Assembly,

Deeply concerned about the ever-spiralling arms race and growing military expenditures, which constitute a heavy burden for the economies of all nations and have extremely harmful effects on world peace and security,

Reaffirming once again the provisions of paragraph 89 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament, according to which the gradual reduction of military budgets on a mutually agreed basis, for example, in absolute figures or in terms of percentage, particularly by nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States, would contribute to curbing the arms race and would increase the possibilities for the reallocation of resources now being used for military purposes to economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries,

Convinced that the freezing and reduction of military budgets would have favourable consequences on the world economic and financial situation and might facilitate efforts made to increase international assistance for the developing countries,

Recalling that at its twelfth special session, the second special session devoted to disarmament, all Member States unanimously and categorically reaffirmed the validity of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session, as well as their solemn commitment to it,

Recalling also that in the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second United Nations Disarmament Decade, it is provided that during this period renewed efforts should be made to reach agreement

on the reduction of military expenditures and the reallocation of resources thus saved to economic and social development, especially for the benefit of developing countries,

Recalling further the provisions of its relevant resolutions, in which it considered that a new impetus should be given to the endeavours to achieve agreements to freeze, reduce or otherwise restrain, in a balanced manner, military expenditures, including adequate measures of verification satisfactory to all parties concerned,

Aware of the various proposals submitted by Member States and of the activities carried out so far within the framework of the United Nations in the field of the reduction of military budgets,

Considering that the identification and elaboration of the principles that should govern further actions of States in freezing and reducing military budgets and the other current activities within the framework of the United Nations related to the question of the reduction of military budgets should be regarded as having the fundamental objective of reaching international agreements on the reduction of military expenditures,

Noting that the Disarmament Commission, at its 1986 substantive session, agreed upon the above-mentioned principles except one, on which various alternatives were proposed by Member States,

1. *Declares again its conviction* that it is possible to achieve international agreements on the reduction of military budgets without prejudice to the right of all States to undiminished security, self-defence and sovereignty;

2. *Appeals* to all States, in particular the most heavily armed States, pending the conclusion of agreements on the reduction of military expenditures, to exercise self-restraint in their military expenditures with a view to reallocating the funds thus saved to economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of developing countries;

3. *Reaffirms* that the human and material resources released through the reduction of military expenditures could be reallocated for economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries;

4. *Requests* the Disarmament Commission to continue the consideration of the item entitled "Reduction of military budgets" and, in this context, to conclude, at its 1988 substantive session, its work on the last outstanding paragraph of the principles that should govern further actions of States in the field of freezing and reduction of military budgets, and to submit its report and recommendations to the General Assembly not later than at its forty-third session;

5. *Draws anew the attention* of Member States to the fact that the identification and elaboration of the principles that should govern further actions of States in freezing and reducing military budgets could contribute to harmonizing the views of States and creating confidence among them conducive to achieving international agreements on the reduction of military budgets;

6. *Urges* all Member States, in particular the most heavily armed States, to reinforce their readiness to cooperate in a constructive manner with a view to reaching agreements to freeze, reduce or otherwise restrain military expenditures;...

ANALYSIS

The reduction of military budgets, included in the general disarmament talks, was the major focus of the first committee. The committee's primary topic was the recent US-Soviet agreement on short and medium range missiles in Europe. Several major groups, such as the Asian-African, Western European, and Latin American groups remind US that all states, not just the superpowers, have a universal commitment to disarmament. The treaty was welcomed as proof that such an agreement could be reached and was marked as the beginning of a reversal in the arms race that would branch out into all areas of arms limitation.

Sweden, India and their respective groups noted the US-Soviet treaty was a great step forward, but it was not an end in and of itself. It was said other areas such as naval disarmament, the regulation of "high-tech" weapons like anti-personnel lasers and chemical/biological warfare must be attacked with the same energy as the nuclear arms race. Related topics including the transfer of arms from industrial nations to developing states and a call for all states to report their annual military spending to the UN were discussed in the context of reducing the level of military spending around the world.

Several facts were given as an incentive to reduce military budgets. The global military spending, which has been estimated at one trillion dollars a year, wastes vital natural resources and endangers the planet with the dual threat of depleting the world's resources and nuclear annihilation. The money spent on military forces in the third world is four times as great as the amount spent on medicine, industry, and agriculture and only makes them dependent on other countries for equipment, medicine, foodstuffs and arms. A plea was sent out to all nations to work on developing their infrastructure rather than imitating the superpowers.

42/101 Question of a convention on the rights of the child

Date: 7 December 1987
Vote: 154-0-1

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 33/166 of 20 December 1978, 34/4 of 18 October 1979, 35/131 of 11 December 1980, 36/57 of 25 November 1981, 37/190 of 18 December 1982, 38/114 of 16 December 1983, 39/135 of 14 December 1984, 40/113 of 13 December 1985 and 41/116 of 4 December 1986,

Recalling also Commission on Human Rights resolutions 20 (XXXIV) of 8 March 1978, 19 (XXXV) of 14 March 1979, 36 (XXXVI) of 12 March 1980, 26 (XXXVII) of 10 March 1981, 1982/39 of 11 March 1982, 1983/52 of 10 March 1983, 1984/24 of 8 March 1984, 1985/50 of 14 March 1985, 1986/59 of 13 March 1986 and 1987/48 of 11 March 1987, as well as Economic and Social Council resolutions 1978/18 of 5 May 1978, 1978/40 of 1 August 1978, 1982/37 of 7 May 1982, 1983/39 of 27 May 1983, 1984/25 of 24 May 1984, 1985/42 of 30 May 1985, 1986/40 of 23 May 1986 and 1987/58 of 29 May 1987 and Council decisions 1980/138 of 2 May 1980 and 1981/144 of 8 May 1981,

Reaffirming that children's rights require special protection and call for continuous improvement of the situation of children all over the world, as well as their development and education in conditions of peace and security,

Profoundly concerned that the situation of children in many parts of the world remains critical as a result of inadequate social conditions, natural disasters, armed conflicts, exploitation, hunger and disability and convinced that urgent and effective national and international action is called for,

Mindful of the important role of the United Nations Childrens' Fund and the United Nations in promoting the well-being of children and their development,

Convinced of the positive contribution of an international convention on the rights of the child as a standard-setting accomplishment of the United Nations, in the field of human rights, to protecting children's rights and ensuring their well-being,

Noting with appreciation that further progress was made in the elaboration of a draft convention on the rights of the child during the the forty-third session of the Commission on Human Rights,

Bearing in mind that 1989 will be the year of the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Rights of the Child and of the tenth anniversary of the International Year of the Child,

Considering that these anniversaries could constitute an appropriate target date for completion of the work on a draft convention on the rights of the child and for its adoption by the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session in 1989,

1. *Welcomes* Economic and Social Council resolution 1987/58, in which the Council authorized a meeting of an open-ended working group of the Commission on Human Rights for a period of one week prior to the forty-fourth session of the Commission in order to facilitate completion of the work on a draft convention on the rights of the child;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to authorize convening, if necessary and within existing resources, the open-ended working group of the Commission on Human Rights for an additional week at its January 1988 session in order to complete a draft convention so as to facilitate its conclusion in 1989, the year of the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Rights of the Child and of the tenth anniversary of the International Year of the Child;

3. *Requests* the Commission on Human Rights to give the highest priority to, and to make every effort at, its sessions in 1988 and in 1989 to complete a draft convention on the rights of the child and to submit it, through the Economic and Social Council, to the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session;

4. *Invites* all Member States to offer their active support to the completion of a draft convention on the rights of the child in 1989;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance to the working group in order to ensure its smooth and efficient work in the fulfillment of its important task;

6. *Decides* to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-third session the item entitled "Question of a convention on the rights of the child".

ANALYSIS

In 1959, the Declaration on the Rights of the Child was unanimously adopted to give the children of the world the right to education, nutrition, health, sanitation, and communication. 42/101, co-sponsored by Ecuador, the Congo, Guatamala and Yemen, is meant to bring about a committee, as part of the Commission on Human Rights, to oversee the implementation of the 1959 Declaration. Sri Lanka and Nepal called for a lowering of the infant mortality rate in South Asia and a conscious effort to make children a high priority in every nation's domestic development plans, especially education and health. Bulgaria, together with Cyprus and Mongolia said the rights of the child, as well as all human rights, should be accepted by all states and was joined by such countries as Morocco and Venezuela in requesting for the Commission on Human Rights to speed up the work needed to implement the convention. The Federal Republic of Germany and the United States felt a need to strengthen the existing Covenants on Human Rights rather than to create more, thereby decreasing the value of those that exist.

42/136 Situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran

Date: 7 December 1987
Vote: 64-22-45

The General Assembly,

Guided by the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights,

Reaffirming that all Member States have an obligation to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms and to fulfil the obligations they have undertaken under the various international instruments in this field,

Recalling its pertinent resolutions, as well as the resolutions of the Commission on Human Rights and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities,

Recalling, in particular, Commission on Human Rights resolution 1987/55 of 11 March 1987, by which it decided to extend the mandate of its Special Representative for one year and requested him to present an interim report to the General Assembly at its forty-second session on the human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran, including the situation of minority groups such as the Baha'is and on new elements contained in his report, for example, the allegations of violations affecting the medical profession, and a final report to the Commission at its forty-fourth session,

Taking note of the opinion of the Special Representative that legal obligations and commitments on human rights do not foresee or admit of partial acceptance of instruments that have been conceived, drafted and adopted as a unified, coherent and complete set of norms,

Noting the Special Representative's conviction that the persons appearing before him

described violations that certainly happened to them and that their declarations were convincing,

Taking note of the Special Representative's view that the partial cooperation he received in 1986 from the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran had gone further, both through documents and personal contacts and that,therefore, there are grounds to hope that it may still increase in the months preceding the presentation of the final report,

Concerned, none the less, at the Special Representative's conclusion that the cooperation extended to him has not reached the level that the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights have consistently requested in the resolutions concerning this matter,

1. *Takes note with appreciation* of the interim report of the Special Representative and the considerations and the observations contained therein;

2. *Notes* that the Special Representative observes that the problem concerning the medical profession appears to have been solved;

3. *Welcomes* the pardoning of prisoners and shares the Special Representative's hope that this may be the first stage of a process leading to a general amnesty for political prisoners;

4. *Expresses again its deep concern* about the numerous and detailed allegations of grave human rights violations in the Islamic Republic of Iran to which the Special Representative has referred in his report and, in particular, those related to the right to life, the right to freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, the right to liberty and security of person and to freedom from arbitrary arrest or detention, the right to a fair trial, the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion and to freedom of expression, and the right of religious minorities to profess and practice their own religion;

5. *Expresses its grave concern,* in particular, that, although the Special Representative indicates that the number of alleged violations to the right to life has diminished over the past two years, information made available to him alleges the execution of some one hundred persons in the period October 1986-September 1987 because of their political and religious convictions;

6. *Expresses its deep concern* at allegations that maltreatment and torture, both physical and psychological, are common in Iranian prisons during interrogation and before and after the final verdict, and at the existence of extremely summary and informal proceedings, the unawareness of specific accusations, the lack of legal counsel and other irregularities in respect to fair trial;

7. *Shares the opinion* of the Special Representative that the denial by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran of the allegations of violations of human rights as a whole, without details, is not sufficient for a sensible assessment of the situation on human rights in that country;

8. *Endorses* the conclusion of the Special Representative that acts continue to occur in the Islamic Republic of Iran that are inconsistent with international instruments to which the Government of that country is bound, and that the persistence of certain facts continues to justify continuing international concern;

9. *Urges* the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, as a State party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to respect and ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in that Covenant;

10. *Urges once again* the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to extend its full cooperation to the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, and, in particular, to permit him to visit that country;

11. *Requests* the Secretary-General to give all necessary assistance to the Special Representative;

12. *Decides* to continue its examination of the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran, including the situation of minority groups such as the Baha'is, during its forty-third session in order to examine this situation anew in the light of additional elements provided by the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council.

ANALYSIS

Besides the obvious debilitating effects of the Iran-Iraq conflict on both nations, the conflict has also created devastating secondary effects in the area of human rights. In response to this problem, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights sent a Special Representative to Iran to investigate possible abuses. Despite the request of the Latin-American and Western European groups, the Iranian government refused to allow the Commission to visit the country. The Representative nevertheless completed a report which cited instances of summary and arbitrary execution, persecution of the Baha'i people solely on the basis of religion and sending children as young as ten to fight Iraq.

The United States claimed that the Special Representative's report contained several credible accusations, even though a first hand study was not possible. Canada added that Iran's refusal to see the Commission's Representative was an indication of guilt. Iran defended itself by stating that the Representative prejudged the situation before the investigation started. They also added that their government had invited the Secretary-General to take a first hand look at their country but was refused.

42/150 Peaceful settlement of disputes between States

Date: 7 December 1987
Vote: 136-0-20

The General Assembly,

Having examined the item entitled "Peaceful settlement of disputes between States",

Recalling its resolution 37/10 of 15 November 1982, by which it approved the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, annexed thereto,

Recalling also its resolutions 38/131 of 19 December 1983, 39/79 of 13 December 1984, 40/68 of 11 December 1985 and 41/74 of 3 December 1986,

Deeply concerned at the continuation of conflict situations and the emergence of new sources of disputes and tension in international life, and especially at the growing tendency to resort to force or the threat of the use of force and to intervention in internal affairs, and at the escalation

of the arms race, which gravely endanger the independence and security of States as well as international peace and security,

Taking into account the need to exert the utmost effort in order to settle any situations and disputes between States on the basis of sovereign equality and exclusively by peaceful means, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, and to avoid any military actions and hostilities against other States, which can only make more difficult the solution of existing problems,

Considering that the question of the peaceful settlement of disputes should represent one of the central concerns for States and for the United Nations and that efforts for strengthening the process of peaceful settlement of disputes should be continued,

1. *Again urges* all States to observe and promote in good faith the provisions of the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes in the settlement of their international disputes;

2. *Stresses* the need to continue efforts to strengthen the process of the peaceful settlement of disputes through progressive development and codification of international law and through enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations in this field;

3. *Calls upon* Member States to make full use, in accordance with the Charter, of the framework provided by the United Nations for the peaceful settlement of disputes and international problems;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its forty-third session a report containing the replies of Member States, relevant United Nations bodies and specialized agencies, regional intergovernmental organizations and interested international legal bodies on the implementation of the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes and on ways and means of increasing the effectiveness of this document;

5. *Decides* that the question of the peaceful settlement of disputes between States shall be examined at its forty-third session as a separate agenda item, in conjunction with the item of the provisional agenda entitled "Report of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization".

ANALYSIS

The peaceful settlement of disputes between states is a fundamental part of the United Nations' purpose as outlined by Article 1 of the UN Charter. Resolution 42/150 is a successor to similar resolutions passed every year since 1982 and once again it was abstained upon by several influential countries, including Canada, Zaire, Gabon, the United Kingdom, West Germany and Japan, due to its lack of specifics and pursuit of "grand schemes, bound to fail". Tanzania voiced the opinion of several other countries when its ambassador said it would vote in favor for reasons of political solidarity rather than agreement with the broad scope of the resolution.

The resolution's sponsor, Romania, along with China, Jordan, Belgium, Egypt and the Soviet Union called for greater use of the Charter to end disputes and to strengthen the Security Council, viewing the open interpretation

necessary to insure passage. Other favoring states such as Angola and Nicaragua expressed the need to use 42/150 to end conflicts in their own countries and South Africa.

42/151 Draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind

Date: 7 December 1987
Vote: 136-5-14

The General Assembly,

Mindful of Article 13, paragraph 1 a, of the Charter of the United Nations, which provides that the General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification,

Recalling its resolution 177 (II) of 21 November 1947, by which it directed the International Law Commission to prepare a draft code of offences against the peace and security of mankind,

Having considered the draft Code of Offences against the Peace and Security of Mankind prepared by the International Law Commission and submitted to the General Assembly in 1954,

Recalling its belief that the elaboration of a code of offences against the peace and security of mankind could contribute to strengthening international peace and security and thus to promoting and implementing the purpose and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling also its resolution 36/106 of 10 December 1981, in which it invited the International Law Commission to resume its work with a view to elaborating the draft Code and to examine it with the required priority in order to review it, taking into account the results achieved by the process of the progressive development of international law,

Bearing in mind that the International Law Commission should fulfil its task on the basis of early elaboration of draft articles thereof,

Having considered chapter II of the report of the International Law Commission on the work of its thirty-ninth session,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on the subject,

Taking into account the views expressed during the debate on this item at the current session,

Recognizing the importance and urgency of this subject,

1. *Agrees* with the recommendation in paragraph 65 of the Commission's report to amend the title of this topic in English, in order to achieve greater uniformity and equivalence between different language versions;

2. *Invites* the International Law Commission to continue its work on the elaboration of the draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind including the elaboration of a list of crimes, taking into account the progress made at its thirty-ninth session, as well as the views expressed during the forty-second session of the General Assembly;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to seek the views of Member States regarding the conclusions contained in paragraph 69 (c) (i) of the Commission's report on the work of its thirty-fifth session;

4. *Further requests* the Secretary-General to include the views received from Member States in accordance with paragraph 3 above in a report to be submitted to the General Assembly at its forty-third session;

5. *Decides* to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-third session an item entitled "Draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind", to be considered in conjunction with the examination of the report of the International Law Commission.

ANALYSIS

The Resolution on a Draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind has received several varied viewpoints not evident in the one-sided pattern of voting. States such as Sierra Leone and Libya stated that crimes included in this code must be of the most serious nature and intent should be defined and included in the draft. Mexico, Egypt and Ireland called for identifiable rules, adhering to the majority of law practices of the member states, to be used as another method of international dispute settlement. Also, the issue of an individual criminal's nationality came into question. Qatar called for individuals to be tried without making his or her country liable, while the Federal Republic of Germany stressed state responsibility for individual actions. It should be noted that many of the industrialized nations, including Italy, the Soviet Union, Japan, Finland and the United Kingdom, did not participate in the debate.

VOTING RECORDS CHART

KEY
Y = Yes vote
N = No vote
A = Abstained
- = absent

Country	Resolution 42/ 15	42/1 101	42/ 136	42/ 150	42/ 151	42/ 160	42/ 165
Afghanistan	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
Albania	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-
Algeria	A	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Angola	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Antigua and Barbuda	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Argentina	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Australia	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	A
Austria	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Bahamas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bahrain	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bangladesh	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Barbados	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Belgium	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	N
Belize	Y	-	Y	-	-	A	-
Benin	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	-
Bhutan	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	-(*)	Y
Bolivia	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Botswana	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brazil	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brunei	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bulgaria	N	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Burkina-Faso	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Burma	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Burundi	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Byelorussian SSR	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
Canada	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	A
Cape Verde	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Central African Republic	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Chad	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chile	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	-	A
China	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	A
Colombia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Comoros	Y	Y	Y*	Y	Y	Y	-

* *Later advised the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain.*
(*) Later advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favor.

Country	Resolution 42/ 15	42/1 101	42/ 136	42/ 150	42/ 151	42/ 160	42/ 165
Congo	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Costa Rica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Cote d'Ivoire	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Cuba	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cyprus	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Czechoslovakia	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dem. Kampuchea	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-
Dem.Yemen	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Denmark	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	A
Djibouti	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-
Dominica	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dominican Rep.	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ecuador	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Egypt	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
El Salvador	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Eq. Guinea	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Ethiopia	N	Y	-**	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fiji	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Finland	A	Y	Y	A	A	A	A
France	Y	Y	Y	A	N	A	N
Gabon	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Gambia	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
German Dem. Rep.	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
Germany, Federal Republic of	Y	Y	Y	A	N	A	A
Ghana	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Greece	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Grenada	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Guatemala	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Guinea	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
Guinea-Bissau	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Guyana	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Haiti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Honduras	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hungary	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
Iceland	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	A
India	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Indonesia	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Iran	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Iraq	A	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Israel	Y	Y	Y	A	N	N	N
Italy	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	A
Jamaica	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	-	Y

** *Later advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote against.*

Country	Resolution 42/ 15	42/1 101	42/ 136	42/ 150	42/ 151	42/ 160	42/ 165
Japan	Y	Y	A	A	A	A	N
Jordan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kenya	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kuwait	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Laos	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lebanon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lesotho	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Liberia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Libya	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Luxembourg	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	N
Madagascar	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
Malawi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Malaysia	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Maldives	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mali	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Malta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	-
Mauritania	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mauritius	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mexico	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mongolia	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
Morocco	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mozambique	-	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nepal	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y
Netherlands	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	N
New Zealand	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N
Nicaragua	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Niger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nigeria	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Norway	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	A
Oman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pakistan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Panama	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Papua New Guinea	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y
Paraguay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Peru	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Philippines	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Poland	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
Portugal	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	N
Qatar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Romania	-	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rwanda	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Saint Kits and Nevis	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	-(*)	Y
Saint Lucia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

(*) Later advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favor.

Country	Resolution 42/ 15	42/1 101	42/ 136	42/ 150	42/ 151	42/ 160	42/ 165
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Samoa	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sao Tome and Principe	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
Saudi Arabia	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Senegal	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Seychelles	-	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sierra Leone	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	A
Singapore	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	-	Y
Solomon Islands	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Somalia	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Spain	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	A
Sri Lanka	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sudan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	-(*)
Suriname	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Swaziland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sweden	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	A
Syria	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Thailand	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	-	Y
Togo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Trinidad and Tobago	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tunisia	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Turkey	Y	Y	A	A	A	Y	A
Uganda	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ukranian SSR	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
USSR	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
United Arab Emirates	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
United Kingdom	Y	Y	Y	A	N	A	N
U. Rep. of Cameroon	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y
U. Rep. of Tanzania	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
United States	Y	A	Y	A	N	N	N
Uruguay	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	A	Y
Vanuatu	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	-	Y
Venezuela	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Vietnam	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
Yemen	-	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Yugoslavia	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zaire	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y
Zambia	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zimbabwe	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y

(*) Later advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favor.

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AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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A discussion of the resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism in the Arab world and the implication for such countries as Egypt, Syria, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Libya.

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An explanation of the history and psychology of the Arab-Jewish conflict.

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A theoretical approach to the Arab-Israeli intercommunal conflict.

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A collection of essays outlining the threat of international terrorism, the liberal democratic response to terrorism, the characteristics of state-sponsored terrorism, and terrorist tactics used in Western Europe.

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An historical portrait of terrorist personalities and an analysis of the social and political forces that motivate them.

Terrorism: Opposing Viewpoints. Bonnie Szumski, ed. St. Paul, Minn.: Greenhaven Press, 1986, 240p.

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II. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

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A collection of essays discussing the threat of escalation to nuclear exchange in various regions of the world and an agenda for escalation avoidance.

Living With Nuclear Weapons. The Harvard Nuclear Study Group: Albert Carnesale, Paul Doty, Stanley Hoffman, Samuel Huntington, Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Scott D. Sagan. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1983, 268p.

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An historical account of the conflict within the Latin American oil industry between the transnational oil corporations and the various Latin American governments' claims of national sovereignty and state control of petroleum resources.

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An examination of the impact of international corporate investment on the politics and economies of the nations of the Caribbean Basin.

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A collection of essays which seeks to define the concept of appropriate technology and discuss the practical application of that concept.

Lall, Sajaya. *Multinationals, Technology, and Exports.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985, 298p.

An examination of the impact of multinational corporations and technological development on exports of developing countries.

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An extensive overview of the basic facts of world hunger as they pertain to population, food, foreign aid, national security, and the New International Economic Order.

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A report on the elements of the African famine, the largely man-made origin, and policy prescription for the prevention of further devastation.

Grigg, David. *The World Food Problem, 1950–1980.* Oxford: David Grigg; New York: Bill Blackwell, 1985, 276p.

An explanation of the political, demographic, economic, social, agricultural, and climatic factors which attributed to the food shortage in the developing world.

Timberlake, Lloyd. *Africa In Crisis: The Causes, the Cures of Environmental Bankruptcy.* Jon Tinker, ed. Washington, D.C.: Earthscan International Institute for Environment and Development, 1985, 232p.

An explanation of the African political and economic crisis examining such factors as poverty, population, land misuse, overgrazing, *apartheid,* and refugees.

Africa's Agrarian Crisis: The Roots of Famine. Stephen K. Commins, Michael F. Lofchie, and Phys Pains, eds. Boulder, Co.: L. Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1985, 237p.

A collection of essays and case studies exploring the political, economic, and social roots of famine in Kenya, Tanzania, Ghana, Liberia, and Morocco.

Population

China's One-Child Family Policy. Elisabeth Croll, Delia Davin, and Penny Kave, eds. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985, 237p.

An exploration of the reasons for the stringent implementation of the one-child policy and the difficulties of implementation.

Hernandez, Donald J. *Success or Failure?: Family Planning Programs In the Third World.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984, 161p.

An examination of the family planning programs in Taiwan, South Korea, Costa Rica, and Mauritius with attention to net program effect, program performance, and future policy implications.

Repetto, Robert. *World Enough and Time: Successful Strategies for Resource Management.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986, 147p.

A description of strategies to promote population stability, resource conservation, and energy efficiency.

Population Change and Economic Development. New York: Published for the World Bank by Oxford University Press, 1985, 193p.

An explanation of the relationship between population change and economic development with particular attention to the Third World.

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Cowhey, Peter F. *The Problems of Plenty: Energy Policy and International Politics.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, 447p.

An analysis of the government-corporate relationship in the formation of strategies to manage energy problems.

Energy Strategies for Developing Nations. Joy Dunkerly . . . [et al]. Baltimore: Published for Resources for the Future by the Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981, 265p.

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Environmental Policies: An International Review. Chris C. Park, ed. London; Dover, N.H.: Croom Heim, 1986, 315p.

An international survey and analysis of environmental management policies.

The Export of Hazard: Transnational Corporations and Environmental Control Issues. Jane H. Ives, ed. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985, 229p.

A documentation of the export by multinational corporations of hazardous materials and the implications for such issues as occupational safety, environmental protection, international relations, and legal controls.

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Booth, Ken. *Law, Force, and Diplomacy At Sea.* London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1985, 231p.

A strategic analysis of the background and outcome of the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea and an agenda for future discussion of the military implication of the changing law of the sea.

Churchill, R. R. and A. V. Lowe. *The Law of the Sea.* Manchester; Dover, N.H.: Manchester University Press, 1983, 321p.

An explanation of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea and related treaties.

V. HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOCIAL ISSUES

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Patterns of Undocumented Migration: Mexico and the United States. Richard C. Jones, ed. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Allanheld, 1984, 350p.

A technical assessment of the factors underlying illegal immigration between Mexico and the US.

Refugees and World Politics. Elizabeth G. Ferris, ed. New York: Praeger, 1985, 224p.

A collection of essays examining the definition of refugee, the causes of refugee migration, the political and economic consequences of such migrations and refugee relief. Particular attention is focused on the refugee policies of Canada, Indochina, the Middle East, Africa, and Central America.

Rogge, John R. *Too Many, Too Long: Sudan's Twenty-year Refugee Dilemma.* Totowa, N.J.: Rowan and Allanheld, 1985, 195p.

A discussion of the history of refugee migration into Sudan and the dilemma facing Sudan as a result of its settlement policies.

Status of Women

Sisterhood Is Global: The International Women's Movement Anthology. Robin Morgan, ed. Garden City, N.J.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1984, 815p.

A collection of essays concerning the women's movement from seventy countries and the United Nations with a brief background preface to each.

Women and the Family in the Middle East: New Voices of Change. Elizabeth Warnock Fernea, ed. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985, 356p.

A collection of documents, essays, stories, life histories, poems, and reports which reveal the rapid and dramatic social changes occurring in the Middle East.

Women In the World: 1975–1985, The Women's Decade. Lynne B. Iglitzin and Ruth Ross, eds. 2nd rev. ed. Santa Barbara, Calf.: ABC-CLIO, 1986, 484p.

A collection of essays detailing the advancement of the status of women in the industrial democracies, the developing world, and the communist states during the Women's Decade.

VI. LEGAL ISSUES

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An account of the development of the uses of outer space and a discussion of international regulations of telecommunications, remote satellite sensing, the establishment of space stations, astronomical observation, and the strategic uses of outer space. Also includes the texts of international conventions on the uses of outer spaces.

International Law: A Contemporary Perspective. Richard Falk, Friedrick Kratochwil, and Saul Mendlovitz, eds. Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1985, 702p.

A critical assessment of the international legal institutions and practices as they pertain to the problems of the arms race, the use of force, human rights, overpopulation, food shortages, and the environment.

Perkins, John A. *The Prudent Peace: Law As Foreign Policy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981, 246p.

An historical analysis of the role of law in foreign policy and the prospects for and obstacles to abiding by international legal presidence.

Organizations

Internationalism: Opposing Viewpoints. Bruno Leone, ed. St. Paul, Minn.: Greenhaven Press, 1986, 175p.

A collection of essays which represent the various perspectives surrounding the effectiveness of such international organizations as the League of Nations, the United Nations, and the International Monetary Fund.

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New York, NY 10017

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866 United Nations Plaza, 2nd Fl.
New York, NY 10017

FRANCE
245 East 47th Street
New York, NY 10017

GABON
820 Second Ave., Room 902
New York, NY 10017

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New York, NY 10017

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
58 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10016

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
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New York, NY 10016

GHANA
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New York, NY 10017

GREECE
733 Third Ave., 23rd Floor
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New York, NY 10017

GUATEMALA
57 Park Ave.
New York, NY 10016

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1 United Nations Plaza, 26th Fl.
New York, NY 10017

GUINEA-BISSAU
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New York, NY 10017

GUYANA
622 Third Ave, 35th Floor
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HAITI
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New York, NY 10017

HONDURAS
866 United Nations Plaza
Suite 509
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HUNGARY
10 East 75th Street
New York, NY 10021

ICELAND
370 Lexington Ave. 5th Floor
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INDIA
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New York, NY 10017

INDONESIA
325 East 38th Street
New York, NY 10016

IRAN
622 Third Ave, 34th Floor
New York, NY 10017

IRAQ
14 East 79th Street
New York, NY 10021

IRELAND
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New York, NY 10017

ISRAEL
800 Second Ave
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New York, NY 10017

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JORDAN
866 United Nations Plaza
Room 550–552
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321 East 44th Street
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New York, NY 10017

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MALI
111 East 69th Street
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MALTA
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MAURITIUS
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MEXICO
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MOZAMBIQUE
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PAPUA NEW GUINEA
100 East 42nd Street, Rm 1005
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820 Second Ave., Suite 1600
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